The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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JOHNSON CITY, TENNESSEE

VOL. LXXXXI NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 28, 1937 NUMBER 1182

Contents

The Week 317

Editorials
- Neutrality in the Far East 319
- Violence against Labor 320
- Technology and Progress 321

General Articles
- What Has Happened in the USSR? ..... H. N. Brailsford 323
- Church and State in England ..... Harold J. Laski 325
- On the Labor Front ..... Mary Heaton Vorse, Richard Sasuly and Charles Flato 327
- How Liberal Is Justice Hughes? ..... Irving Brant 329
- Washington Notes ..... T. R. B. 333
- Other People's Money ..... John T. Flynn 334
- New Film in a Dry Month ..... Otis Ferguson 335
- The Bandwagon 336

Correspondence 336

Books in Review
- "Give That Beat Again" ..... Edmund Wilson 338
- The Past Indefinite ..... George Libaire 340
- The Man They Could Trust ..... Silas Bent 341
- Problems of Order ..... Henry S. Churchill 342
- Camera in a Furrow ..... John Gould Fletcher 343
- Girl Gets Boy Back ..... B. E. Bettinger 343

The Week

UNSTABLE equilibrium in both Europe and Asia still threatened a collapse into general war during the week ending July 20. . . . Britain made a proposal to keep the last breath of life in non-intervention, which was accepted by the nations as a basis for discussion. But the whole proposal depended on substantial progress in withdrawal of foreign volunteers from Spain, and General Franco promptly refused to consider this. Of course nobody believes that Germany and Italy will insist upon it. A trade treaty was announced between Franco and Germany, giving the latter the ores she wants, presumably in exchange for military assistance. . . . The great battle to the west of Madrid continued, the loyalists holding their gains so far in spite of furious counter-attacks. On the first anniversary of the outbreak of the rebellion the confidence of loyalist Spain was high and it was freely predicted that the tide was about to turn in its favor. . . . Foreign Minister Eden made a speech in Commons intended to warn Italy without making sensational threats. . . . Indecisive oriental negotiations continued in China, while both Japan and Nanking moved large numbers of troops toward the troubled area. Japan's aim was to keep the Chinese national government out of the situation and force local authorities to withdraw, presumably in preparation for the kind of military penetration she has carried out before. Chiang Kai-shek proclaimed his desire for peace, but threatened to resist alienation of any more territory. Apparently neither side knew how much in earnest the other was; certainly outsiders did not.

IN THE United States the steel strike wore on, with companies and union disputing about how many had gone back to work. The Youngstown plants in Indiana reopened under some sort of understanding with the Governor which the union said was equivalent to an agreement and the company said was not. . . . Official investigations into the causes of violence or into obedience to the Wagner law were in process in the cases of Ford, Republic, Youngstown and Bethlehem. . . . A crisis arose in the Supreme Court controversy through the death of Senator Robinson, Democratic leader. Senator Wheeler warned the President not to fight God; the President in a letter to Senator Barkley accused his opponents of using the death for political purposes, and he in turn was accused of doing so. Two heavy blows to the administration in this fight were the declaration of Congressman Sumners, Democratic leader, that he would never report the bill out of committee, and a letter from Governor Lehman of New York, close friend of the President, asking Senator Wagner to oppose the bill. . . . The search for Amelia Earhart was at last given up. Its cost was approximately $4,000,000. . . . The first of the accused in the Scottsboro cases was found guilty and sentenced to death; a compromise with the state was reached in the second, the state agreeing not to ask for the death penalty. . . . Tom Mooney, against whose treatment in San Quentin we protested last week, was put on the diet recommended by physicians and given the privileges he had formerly earned.

GOVERNOR Lehman's announcement that he is opposed to the Court plan has of course bitterly disappointed those who follow the President on this issue, and some sharp comment has been heard that Mr. Lehman's action was "a stab in the back." Such criticism seems to us unfair to the Governor and a misunderstanding of the whole situation. The real

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point is that Mr. Lehman, like many other Democrats, is and always has been a conservative, as one could expect from his career in a Wall Street banking house. He supported President Roosevelt out of party loyalty and personal friendship and not because he had suffered any change of heart. Like many conservatives, he was willing to accept a certain amount of social legislation designed to cover up some of the more glaring inequalities created by private capitalism. Now, however, Mr. Roosevelt proposes a plan that cuts really deep; and Governor Lehman—like many others in Washington—runs true to form. His action illuminates as clearly as anything else in recent times the fact that Democrats are not necessarily progressives and that we still need a realignment of parties in this country to conform with political reality.

A SPECIAL correspondent of The New Republic, visiting the war front in Spain, sends us the following cablegram presenting a view of the situation in Madrid on the eve of the heightened loyalist offensive which began a few days ago:

> The offensive beginning July 6 has threatened the rebel lines from the flank and rear, but its real importance has to do with organization even more than strategy. It has now been shown that Republican Spain has an army capable of making a sustained advance. It is superior in man-power to the rebels, and its discipline is rapidly improving, with newly recruited drafted men rivaling veterans in the field. It is demonstrated that the army has the modern equipment essential for attack, including artillery and submachine guns. The army, as it is now directed by the General Staff, is capable of picking out the enemy's weak spots and planning and accurately timing an offensive in all its complicated details—artillery, airplanes, munitions, reserves of manpower, food and medical services.
>
> Even more, this offensive reveals the new organization existing behind the lines—the growth of war industry and the improvement of the transport of munitions, food, and other necessary supplies both for the soldiers and for perhaps 800,000 civilians who still remain in Madrid. Political unity is increasing, with the gradual suppression of unruly elements. For these things, credit must go to the new government.
>
> American and English volunteers have continued to take an active part among the shock troops, distinguishing themselves by capturing fortified points.
>
> The rebels have evidently withdrawn many of their newest and fastest airplanes from the Bilbao front. Nevertheless, the advantage stays with the loyalists, who, within a recent forty-eight-hour period, shot down twenty-five Heinkels, Fiats, Romeos and fast pursuit planes, with many "dog fights" visible over the city's streets.
>
> As I traveled from Paris through Barcelona toward the front, I have found constantly increasing optimism. Madrid, which is both making war and pursuing its daily life despite the renewed bombardments, is a terrific and inspiring spectacle. American boys fighting with the loyalists, coming back from the battlefront, say, "We've got them on the run," and are looking forward to the hope that the new offensive will finally raise the siege.

WHAT is there to say about the Scottsboro case that has not already been said, over and over again? It has now been proved to the satisfaction of any reasonable man or woman that the group of Negro defendants are in all likelihood innocent; that they did not have a fair trial in any possible meaning of the phrase, either when they first appeared in court or on any subsequent occasion. Twice the United States Supreme Court has set aside a verdict of guilty because justice was not done. Once the trial judge, James E. Horton, did the same thing and ruined himself politically by his act. Haywood Patterson has been sentenced to death three times and to seventy-five years' imprisonment once. Victoria Price has twelve times told her story to the jury, insisting that she was attacked; Ruby Bates, her companion, insists on the contrary that the story of the attack was a fabrication. Now Clarence Norris, another of the defendants, has for a third time been sentenced to death, although he is certainly no more guilty than Haywood Patterson, who received seventy-five years. The first compromise in the history of the case has just been reported, under which the state agrees not to ask the death penalty for Andy Wright and the defense agrees to accept a jury drawn from the regular panel. Is it not possible for Alabama to make another compromise and admit that its policy has been to kill Negroes charged with rape, whether guilty or innocent; that the courtroom proceedings have been a farce and intended to be nothing but a farce; but that, humiliated by having her policy exposed, Alabama is at last ready to change her ways?

WILLIAM GREEN, president of the American Federation of Labor, has taken a hot shot at Heywood Broun, president of the American Newspaper Guild, in which he accuses Broun, among other things, of being a Communist and of splitting his organization. This is in revenge for a statement by Broun in which Green was accused of following in the footsteps of Benedict Arnold. The facts about the Guild are fortunately less sensational than Mr. Green would have the public believe. Unless we are much mistaken, even those members of it who are opposed to Mr. Broun's policies will resent Mr. Green's interference, which is calculated only to weaken the union's influence and to encourage its enemies among the employers. In its recent convention the Guild voted to affiliate with the CIO, and to admit to membership the business staffs of newspapers. Both measures were favored by Broun and the other officials. A minority of delegates wanted to submit them to a membership referendum; these delegates were in due process voted down. Subsequently a number of local guilds started an initiative calling for a referendum on the issue; according to the constitution of the union such a referendum must be held if enough locals want it. Enough do want it, and the referendum will take place. All this looks to us very much like the orderly functioning of democratic process, and offers no ground for such a

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statement as Mr. Green's. (Incidentally, Mr. Broun is not a Communist.) The issue is not yet decided, but we doubt if Mr. Green has converted any Guild members to a belief in the superiority of his leadership over Lewis' or Broun's.

IF FORMER President Angell of Yale wants to make a real job of his new post as educational counselor of the National Broadcasting Company, the whole world stretches before him. In few phases of modern life is there so great a gap between potentiality and performance as in the use of radio for educational purposes. A case in point is described in a pamphlet, "Four Years of Network Broadcasting," which has just been issued by the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education and the American Political Science Association. The pamphlet recounts in detail the history of a series of programs bearing the general title, "You and Your Government," which began on April 5, 1932. Without advance solicitation, the National Broadcasting Company offered its facilities and voluntarily agreed to put the program on its Blue Network each Tuesday evening from 8 to 8:30 over a period of four years. Within a year the company had a chance to sell that time to a commercial sponsor. Right then and there began the long series of changes in broadcasting time, shifts from one network to another, arbitrary addition and removal of stations, reduction and expansion of the program itself that reached almost Mad Hatter proportions before the final broadcast on June 9, 1936. The report says:

> Our experience with the NBC has led to the conclusion—and it is arrived at without rancor—that in view of the double conflict between commercial and educational interests and between the chains and their individual stations it is useless at this time to attempt systematic education by national-network broadcasting at hours when it will be available to large adult audiences.

THE Journal of the American Medical Association a fortnight ago discussed the subject of the health hazard from fruits and vegetables that have been sprayed with poisonous substances. The AMA Journal says that cabbages recently bought in a public market revealed up to .45 of a grain of arsenic and up to 1.24 grains of lead per pound. One or two grains of arsenic is a toxic, sometimes even a fatal, dose to an adult. Poisonous lead and arsenic sprays in equally serious quantities have been found recently on other fruits and vegetables, notably apples and cauliflower; a case of acute lead poisoning through eating apples was reported a few months ago. An expert who has studied this subject carefully believes that there is much illness from these causes that the public does not suspect. Lead accumulates in the viscera and the bones and is then gradually and continuously released, producing loss of appetite, headache, loss of body weight, weakness, fatigue, anemia, gastro-intestinal disturbances, pains in the joints and even paralysis. Domestic animals on farms in the vicinities where these poisonous sprays are used can be equally affected. The AMA Journal urges users of fruits and vegetables to wash them, but admits that such treatment is not enough. What we need is drastic federal legislation, directed against the producers, plus the encouragement of research looking toward non-poisonous sprays, already produced successfully in an experimental way. Meanwhile, hope seems to have been abandoned that the new food-and-drugs bill will be passed at this session of Congress, either in the fairly good form written for the Senate or the extremely bad form written for the House.

OUR favorite editors this week are those bright young men in Des Moines, Iowa, who produce for the Cowles family that marvelous periodical called Look. As most of our readers probably know, Look in only a couple of issues vaulted to a newsstand sale of over a million copies. If that isn't a world's record, it ought to be. The reason our admiration is just now so feverish is because of a recent full-page feature entitled "How Television Has Improved" which purported to show what results the engineers were getting nine, six and three years ago, and today. For the pictures of 1929, '31 and '34, Look used a portrait of a pretty downcast maiden, whose hair style was out of date and whose features, if we may say so without disrespect, would launch no ships and burn no towers. For 1937, however, Look suddenly switched subjects and showed its readers no other than the sweetly smiling, streamlined Miss Betty Goodman, NBC television announcer, who can have our vote in any popularity contest she cares to enter. The moral, to most of Look's readers, obviously was that recently television has marched ahead pretty fast. Even since 1934, the pulchritude of the individual being scanned by its camera has increased 50 percent. Or more. We didn't learn much about television from Look, but we had at least a million-dollar lesson in popular journalism.

Neutrality in the Far East

IF HOSTILITIES between Japan and China should become serious, it will be the duty of the President of the United States under existing law to decide whether a "state of war" exists and if it does, to announce it. The proclamation of a state of war will automatically bring into operation the provisions of the neutrality act which forbid the export to either belligerent of arms, ammunition and implements of war, will forbid Americans to travel on belligerent ships, will forbid loans or credits to the belligerents, and will bring into play minor safeguards against involvement. It will then become the President's duty to decide whether the sale of other materials than those completely embargoed endangers our peace, and if so, to list them, in which case the belligerents can buy these materials only for cash paid at our borders, and American ships cannot carry them.

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Of course the crisis may blow over and no occasion for the application of neutrality laws may arise, but the questions involved may as well be discussed now, because they are almost certain to become pressing at some time or other. Opponents of the legislation have argued that in case of a war in Asia the new neutrality would be undesirable because it would injure China more than Japan, whereas dominant American opinion would favor China. Japan has her own munitions factories and needs mainly to import only raw materials; China is deficient in this respect. Moreover Japan controls the sea, at least to a greater extent than China, and has considerable cash purchasing power in this country, whereas China has much less. Therefore the "cash-and-carry" policy would affect Japan little.

The primary decision for us to make is whether, in pursuit of a natural impulse to aid China against Japanese aggression, we wish to incur the risk of war. If we do, then of course no kind of neutrality legislation has any point, and we ought to make our power count as best we may. But if not—and The New Republic is confident that an overwhelming majority of the American people want to stay out of war at all costs—then we should take the course best adapted to keep us out of trouble, no matter where our sympathies lie.

What is this course? Is it to fail to apply, or to repeal the neutrality legislation? Is it to let both Japan and China buy here as much as they can of munitions and materials? That course, we submit, would serve neither purpose. On the one hand, it would leave Japan with the advantages of sea power and purchasing power that she has anyway. She could buy and transport much more than China. And she could keep China from getting much aid from us, by blockading or destroying our shipments to Chinese ports. That very activity would be certain to get us into trouble with Japan. We should have either to surrender any effort to protect our trade with China or to threaten Japan with forcible measures. If we are going to surrender, we might better stop the trade before trouble arises. If we are not going to surrender, we might better notify Japan in the beginning what she may expect, and so do what can be done to check her aggression.

Applying the neutrality legislation would certainly diminish the chance of our being drawn into the war. China cannot take retaliatory measures, and Japan can have no serious cause of complaint. But will our action be so little impartial in effect that sympathy with China in this country will be unduly outraged? Will propaganda be likely to overthrow it? Under the laws, especially if the President decides to apply the cash-and-carry plan to important materials like cotton, scrap-iron and steel, Japan could buy less than she could if they were not in effect. Her merchant shipping would be considerably strained in any event by the necessities of transport from Japan to the Asiatic mainland. She could not rely on help from our ships for trade with us. While she has some cash purchasing power in this country arising from her exports to us, she has no sizable portfolio of investments here that she could sell to provide additional cash. Her purchases from us certainly would not be greater than they normally are in peace and probably would be less. Her passenger liners would suffer, of course. And China probably would not really be injured. In view of Japan's naval predominance, China could not hope to import much from us if no embargo were declared. She would naturally look rather to Russia or even to Great Britain, shipments from which could come by a southerly route that is not so exposed to hostile warships.

If sentiment against the neutrality laws in this country became overwhelming because of sympathy with China, what it would logically demand would not be unrestricted trade with both belligerents, but rather a one-sided embargo against Japan. That would certainly be a challenge to military reprisal. Aside from this danger, such an embargo would be difficult to maintain in face of the American interests that it would injure. Japan is one of the largest buyers of our cotton. She also purchases a long list of manufactured products. In return she sends us silk and light manufactures. A large and profitable trade would be interrupted by a complete embargo—a trade that involves few of the wicked "dealers in death" but many farmers, textile workers and others in humble walks of life. It would be folly to challenge these interests; the price of such discrimination would probably be too great to be paid. It might easily result in reaction in favor of Japan.

We can see no reason to modify our support of the new neutrality act in the event of a war between Japan and China. It should be applied at once and as fully as possible. There is no other sensible course.

Violence against Labor

NEWS ACCOUNTS of the riots that have taken place in the industrial war to curb the growing power of organized labor in the United States have given, almost without exception, the impression that the strikers and their sympathizers have caused most of the violence. Here are some of the facts, here is the actual testimony which helps place the guilt where it belongs. At Massillon, Ohio, on July 11, a riot occurred between the local police and the organizers of the strike at the Republic Steel plant in which two were killed, fifteen wounded and several score more beaten and thrown into jail. Both the fatalities were union men. At Alcoa, Tennessee, the week before, two strikers were killed and twenty-eight wounded in a gun-battle between the police and strikers at the fabricating mill of the Aluminum Company of America. Two union men were killed at Youngstown a fortnight before that, and the death toll in South Chicago on Memorial Day was ten. The story of the most recent killing—the Sunday-night massacre at Massillon—is much

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the same as the others have been; possibly a little more calculated, a little better engineered. A reliable correspondent of The New Republic in Massillon sends us this report of the affair:

> On Sunday night, as was customary once or twice a week, a crowd of several hundred were gathered around the headquarters (of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee); an orchestra made up of a bass viol, a violin and mandolin, surrounded by children dancing in the street, was the center of attention. . . . A car drove up and parked opposite the headquarters, its headlights bringing into focus a group of armed police approaching down the street. A shouted order demanding that the lights be turned off attracted the attention of the crowd. . . . "Douse those lights or we'll fill 'em full of lead!" Before the driver of the car had a chance to comply, a volley of shots riddled the car, followed by the discharge of tear-gas bombs, by volley after volley of gunfire and gas, directed at the cars and at the crowd, now wildly scattering for safety, and at the union headquarters where many sought refuge. With intervals of quiet, the police continued to send volleys of shots into the headquarters for an hour. A man stepped from the door during one of the intervals, thinking the shooting was over—he was shot in the leg without a word of warning by a deputy sheriff in the group of twenty which had arrived from Canton as reinforcements.

When the bombardment was over and the strikers had fled or been removed from the union building, the police entered, smashed furniture, spilled files and records into the streets and took membership cards to police headquarters. Cars abandoned in the street were smashed and hauled away. Arrests of union men, about 180 in all, went on through the night and into the next morning.

Meanwhile the National Labor Relations Board (which was scheduled to begin its hearings on charges of "intimidation and coercion" against Republic Steel on Wednesday, July 21) worked in Detroit on its investigation of the violence that took place May 6 in front of the Ford plant at River Rouge. On that day a group of United Automobile Workers tried to distribute copies of a pamphlet, "Unionism, Not Fordism," to Ford workers and were set upon and brutally beaten by company-hired gangsters, prizefighters, wrestlers and a former policeman, all members of the Ford Service Department. Fifteen of these professional strike-breakers were charged with felony by a Detroit Court of Common Pleas, and in the course of their trials and the NLRB hearings these charges were made:

> That the Service men were "typical hoodlums" of the type commonly hired to break strikes; that they had been hired by the Ford Company to "take care of" the workers distributing union leaflets.
>
> That a system of espionage, financed by "rat money" from the company, had been used to "snoop" on the Ford workers in their lunch-time hours, and at other times when they might discuss the question of unionization. That a rule of silence had been enforced (with dismissal as a penalty for violation) to prevent men from discussing the union in the River Rouge plant itself.
>
> That there had been a number of dismissals for real or suspected union activity on the part of Ford employees.
>
> That the local police were dominated by the Ford Service Department.
>
> That criminal violence had been used by the Service men in beating, among others, Walter Reuther and Richard Frankensteen of the United Auto Workers' Organizing Committee, and that there was a good deal of doubt whether the Ford Company had any property right in the bridge upon which the beatings, for the most part, took place.

The Ford hearings are in their fourth week and so far only the seventy-five witnesses for the Union have been heard. It is expected that the company's side of the story will begin to be heard within the next few days. The investigation of Republic Steel is beginning, and it will surely unearth a more serious tale, because the fight in steel has been a good deal more bloody. But all these investigations, admirable as they may be, come after the fact. There is no assurance that there will not be more violence in the future. There is no way of retrieving the lives already lost.

Technology and Progress

IT IS no longer necessary to bluff and stutter one's way through a discussion on the what, how, whence and whither of technology in the United States. In a document of absorbing social significance, encyclopedic scope and high technical excellence[1] the National Resources Committee (formerly the National Resources Board) has told a story of modern progress—and of the myriad problems arising from it—that should be read and reread by every informed American of the present and coming generation. Considering the labor that has gone into the preparation of this colossal report, the dozens of scientists, engineers, technicians, economists and experts in virtually every domain of social action who have contributed to its three major parts, sixteen subsections and 450,000 words, it is probably no exaggeration to say that "Technological Trends and National Policy" will long rank as one of the classics on its subject in the English language.

The Committee's intention may best be summarized in the opening words, written by the chairman of the Subcommittee on Technology, William F. Ogburn, whose studies of social change have so powerfully influenced the currents of recent sociological thought:

> In an age of great change, anticipation of what will probably happen is a necessity for the executives at the helm of the ship of state. A study of inventions offers a

[1] Technological Trends and National Policy, including the Social Implications of New Inventions. Report of the Subcommittee on Technology to the National Resources Committee. Washington: Superintendent of Documents. 388 pages, illustrated. $1.

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> very good clue to future social conditions and problems of a nation. For, of four material factors that determine the economic well-being of nations—invention, population, natural resources and economic organization—the first changes the most frequently in the modern world and hence is most often a cause.

In other words, the national policy of a highly industrialized nation like the United States must stop thinking exclusively in terms of political and economic forces; it must take deliberate account of the rapidly changing technical landscape and attempt, by carefully worked out methods of long-term analysis and appraisal, to foresee the possible social effects of inventions and discoveries in every field.

In support of the Committee's belief that technical developments, at least in certain basic industries, may be anticipated with a rough degree of accuracy, Mr. S. C. Gilfillan offers an impressive body of evidence to show that the time-lag between the first serious work on a significant invention and practical use averages about thirty years. This average, however, is based on a sample of only nineteen inventions covering the period from 1888 to 1913: wide divergences are found in the case of telegraphy (eighty-eight years), the airplane (seventy years), talking pictures (forty years), wireless (fifteen to seventy years) and television, which, although first seriously considered in 1877, is still very far from practical realization.

Even if one is willing to grant that such forecasters as Hudson Maxim, Charles Proteus Steinmetz and T. Baron Russell (to say nothing of H. G. Wells) were highly successful in anticipating certain lines of technical development, there still remain the problems of integrating these developments with a relatively inelastic economic system; of what Mr. Gilfillan aptly calls "functionally equivalent inventions" that may seriously upset previous calculations (there are, for example, sixteen different methods of human flight, and twenty-five known means for dispelling fog). Then too there is the ever present bogey of popular resistance to new ways of doing old things.

To this question of social inertia Professor Bernhard J. Stern, of Columbia University, contributed an extraordinarily illuminating chapter. "The acceptance or rejection of technological innovations," he writes, "depends to a large measure on whether they are introduced at a time when an economy is static, contracting or expanding; whether they appear in a setting of social stratification . . . or in a planned industrial order."

No one could read Professor Stern's thoroughly documented account of the bitter fight for popular support of the railroads, steamship lines, automobiles, gas and electricity, even typewriters and street cars, without realizing the enormous difficulty of introducing new inventions, and still more of revolutionary ones, to a public caught between the devil of habits and the deep sea of entrenched vested interests, each of which does all it can to obstruct that very technical progress to which it owes its own position. It is at this point of stress—wittily summed up by the banker who once defined invention as that which made all his securities insecure—that the issue between technology and society will eventually be fought to a finish. Professor Stern does not mince words: "Capitalism," he concludes, "has inherent, in its structure and functioning, factors which militate against [the overcoming of social inertia] and thus prevent industrial practice from keeping pace with scientific knowledge."

This blunt opinion of one of the Committee's own experts is eloquently—if only by implication—borne out by David Weintraub's highly technical analysis of the bugbear of "technological unemployment," and still more by the nine subsections dealing, in considerable detail, with the special technical developments in separate industries. Here, in fact, is the very kernel of the report: 300 pages of concentrated history and information illustrating the terrifying advance toward mechanization and automatic processes of agriculture, mining transport and communication, power and chemicals, electrical goods, metallurgy and building industries. Out of this embarrassment of technical riches the Committee has selected, as deserving of the most careful attention with a view to future large-scale use and social planning, twelve inventions: the mechanical cotton-picker, air conditioning, plastics, the photo-electric cell, artificial cellulose fabrics, synthetic rubber, prefabricated houses, television, the automobile trailer, gasoline from coal, steep-flight aircraft and tray agriculture.

If Harold L. Ickes, chairman of the National Resources Committee, and his hundreds of collaborating experts and agencies, can actually work out a social program that will permit the fullest functioning of the above "Titans of Technology," it will be nothing less than a miracle. In the meantime, everyone who can should beg, buy or borrow a copy of the Committee's report—which, whatever happens in the practical sphere, will stand as a landmark in the literature of contemporary science and technology.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1937, IN THE U. S., BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49TH STREET, NEW YORK.

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What Has Happened in the USSR?

The article below, by our London correspondent, Mr. H. N. Brailsford, dealing with the highly controversial subject of recent happenings in Soviet Russia, is published for its intrinsic interest. Publication does not imply any alteration of The New Republic's editorial position, expressed on several recent occasions, that it is almost impossible for anyone outside of the USSR to give a final answer to the riddle of recent events there.—THE EDITORS.

THE LATEST batch of Russian executions brought back to me a memory of 1920. At Minsk, during the Russo-Polish war, I got to know the young commander of the Red armies. Tukhachevsky was then no more than twenty-seven years of age. Few generals in history have carried on shoulders so youthful a responsibility so heavy. He bore himself with modesty, though apart from the one heavy defeat before Warsaw he had a long career of victory behind him. I have rarely met among soldiers a more winning or original personality. He came of a landowning family and started life as a student of music, who had some hopes of becoming a composer. The war called him, of course, into the army, and he did well enough as a junior lieutenant to receive a staff training. Captured by the Germans, he made several attempts to escape and finally succeeded. One of these might have ended ill, but the Germans found, when they recaptured him, a 'cello which he had constructed in prison out of used matches and glue: that touched them, or amused them, and he lived to escape another day.

Already in captivity he had mentally joined the Revolution, and when he reached Russia again in 1917 he entered the Communist Party. It had few members with any adequate military training and he rose rapidly. In his talks with me I thought him primarily a strategist: he had the intellect that excels in mathematics, or counterpoint, or chess. But he evolved into a remarkable organizer with a gift for human leadership as well, for the army regarded him with affection. When I saw it in 1920 it had no air force, and its transport crawled in two-wheeled peasant carts over the dirt tracks that were then Russia's roads. Up to last May, in early middle age, Marshal Tukhachevsky commanded the biggest modern mechanized army on this earth. Many brains went to its creation; it depended on the colossal growth of Soviet industry; but in no small degree it was this man's work.

With seven of his best generals—an eighth committed suicide—all of them like himself veterans of the civil war and most of them, since 1917, members of the ruling party—this brilliant commander has been shot as a traitor. This was, as every one recognized, an even heavier blow to the prestige of the Soviet Union than the "purge" among its political and industrial leaders. One assumes loyalty among soldiers as a matter of course, as one assumes ordinary physical courage. Is any country so rich in talent and experience that it can squander its human assets in this way without loss? One thinks of the shock of this discovery to the men who trusted these commanders. As for the French, they asked themselves what reliance they could place on an allied army so led.

Why were these generals executed? The official answer, drafted primarily for Russian consumption, was given in a proclamation to the army over the signature of the Minister of War, Voroshilov. This was a full-blooded, rhetorical document, but its charges were precise and applied indiscriminately to all the nine men. (1) They did "wrecking and spying work" on "the money of foreign espionage services." (2) "They sold the military secrets of our State to the enemies of the Soviet Union." (3) "They did everything to *hasten* the enemy's attack on the Soviet." (4) Their plan was to "wreck supplies of war materials at the front" and "so to direct military operations that they would achieve the defeat of the Red Army." (5) Theirs was "a fascist organization" and their purpose was "to restore the yoke of the landlords and manufacturers in the Soviet Union." (6) "They prepared to assassinate the leaders of the Soviet Party," and (7) were "ready to give away the Ukraine."

This was, then, a case of that completely standardized behavior which we must expect when men become the tools (as Voroshilov put it) of "that bestial fascist, Trotsky." Russians are losing their originality. None the less, one is puzzled. What had these generals, all of them successful at an early age, to gain by selling themselves? Did the Marshal cherish the ambition of going down to history as the man the Germans defeated? Again, if a Trotskyist party really existed, and was so firmly established at the head of the army, in industry, the government of White Russia and elsewhere, it is odd that it never struck. To wait in complete passivity, with such resources, during two years and a half, while one group after another of the conspirators was tracked down and executed, is hardly the conduct one would expect from veterans of the Revolution. Hundreds were plotting murder, yet no bomb was thrown; no shot was ever fired, save in the first doubtful case of Kirov, who was killed by a dismissed subordinate with a grievance.

There is, however, another version of this puzzling affair. On June 23, The London News-Chronicle, a Liberal daily that has been steadily friendly to Soviet Russia, and has always had a high stand-

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ard of journalistic ethics, published a remarkable memorandum on the executions, which it attributed to Stalin himself. It gave it mainly in summarized form in its own words, but partly by direct quotation in the first person: the editing, I should guess, was somewhat free. It came, as I have ascertained, from one of its regular correspondents who drew on a responsible source. However, it has been denied by the official Tass Agency that Stalin wrote it—which is literally true as regards the precise form in which it appeared. Such denials are embarrassing but not unusual. One must treat this document with caution, but it accords so well with the known facts that in spite of the denial it is worth summarizing.[1] The suggestion that it is a fascist forgery is merely absurd. In any event it was written in Stalin's interest.

It begins by stating that the generals were not charged with treason in any vulgar sense. (1) They "did not betray secrets to the potential enemy for money," nor (2) "did they betray military secrets at all." (3) So far from wishing to hasten a Russo-German war, "they wanted Germany to be embroiled in war with other capitalist States and Russia to remain outside the conflict." (4) "Only when the capitalists were exhausted by such a war and the workers in revolt everywhere should the Red Army march" to (5) "establish a communist state of society."

If the reader will compare the clauses carrying the same numbers in the two statements, he will see that on every matter of fact they are in flat contradiction. The memorandum then gives the real charges against Tukhachevsky and his colleagues. They established contacts with the chiefs of the Reichswehr at Rapallo in 1923, and maintained them even under Hitler's regime until the other day. They wished, moreover, to wreck Russia's alliances with bourgeois governments, and were hostile toward the policy that found expression in Russia's membership in the League. Such views would result in the downfall of Russia and amounted to treason. "Therefore I struck." Stalin's conclusion is that the purge has increased Russia's value as an ally.

This latter version, though it may not be the whole truth, is at least in line with probability. It was well known that after the Rapallo meetings, when Europe's two pariahs came together, Tukhachevsky had these close contacts with the Reichswehr—the Left Social Democrats exposed this lapse of the German Republic into "militarism": some even suspected a loose alliance. After Hitler's rise to power, the chiefs of the Reichswehr followed a cautious, independent policy of their own, for rearmament but against adventures. They disliked the Spanish enterprise, distrusted the Italian partner and refused to share their Führer's fanaticism about Russia. It is, then, probable (indeed, from several sources I have heard it as a fact) that the old friendly relations of the two staffs continued. That may well have seemed a wise and prudent policy to Tukhachevsky, though whether either staff was personally loyal to its Führer is another matter. One can imagine some lively mutual confidences between these soldiers concerning the psychology of dictators. A German military mission paid a brief visit to Leningrad a few months ago. Rumor says that it meant to stay ten days, but was required to leave after two.

The attitude ascribed to the generals concerning the alliances with France and Czechoslovakia and Russia's entry into the League is also within the bounds of probability. They belonged to the Bolshevik Old Guard that had been reared on contempt for the League. The graver matter is that of the Franco-Soviet Pact. It was ratified over a year ago. Yet after a Socialist had been Premier of France for a year, the two staffs had not yet met for military conversations. Why? Perhaps because M. Daladier, the "bourgeois" Minister of War, was always against the Pact. Perhaps because the French Staff knew something about Tukhachevsky's relations with the Reichswehr, though in this connection it is interesting that the head of the German Staff lately paid a friendly visit to Paris. Moscow was painfully anxious. Among several reasons suggested to explain why the Communists so nearly smashed the Front Populaire the other day, this is the most probable: they were putting pressure on M. Blum to start these "conversations." And this also, among other reasons, is why Stalin "struck." He wished to give his French and Czech allies a proof of his reliability by removing generals whose notion of the proper use of a Red Army was not that it should join two bourgeois States in a war on Germany, but that it should keep its powder dry and then "march to establish a communist state of society." Such was the background of this memorandum. It was addressed to official circles in Paris and Prague to remove their hesitations. They need not fear for their military secrets. As for Tukhachevsky, he was shot because he was a communist.

These are, I believe, substantially the facts and most of them could be pieced together from what one knows, apart altogether from the memorandum. It leaves Tukhachevsky's honor clean. But it does reveal the gulf in policy that divides Stalin and the adherents of his "new line" from the Old Guard. There could be no graver difference over principles or tactics, and one must candidly concede that Stalin had adequate reasons for removing this brilliant commander from his post; reasons, if you will, that might have justified dismissal, even exile. Russia is no place for communists. But to execute these men for this difference over policy was the act of a barbarian.

From this entirely plausible version of the facts one turns back to Voroshilov's proclamation with nausea. It was truth for Russians. Lenin once tossed off the saying that truth is a bourgeois virtue. That

[1] One detail may prove decisive. The memorandum states that Yagoda, the chief of the GPU, has been shot. If so, no one outside the inner circle knew it. The official statements, so far, have mentioned only his arrest. If he should later appear in a public trial, then the document is a fabrication. But if he is never seen again, there is a strong presumption of its authenticity.—H. N. B.

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was one of the worst slips in a great career. It has its meaning, of course. Capitalism does foster for the ends of profit all the qualities of the good apprentice, punctuality and honesty toward one's employer. But without truth no human society can live. Communists have swallowed a cynical epigram whole, and that is the primary reason why their unexampled courage, devotion and discipline have failed to carry their movement farther in the West. One cannot trust their courts; one doubts their confessions; one steels oneself against their propaganda. I am not going to revive the weary debate over the Moscow trials, but to be wholly silent is not easy. I ask myself how a similarly objective memorandum would read, if there had been any diplomatic or military end to gain by telling the truth about Kamenev or Pyatakov, Radek or Sokolnikov. There might have been something damning enough from the standpoint of the "new line"; something that made further collaboration impossible; there might even have been some kind of plot against Stalin. But would there have been attempts at murder, three thousand train-wreckings, a pact with Hitler and the surrender of the Ukraine?

English socialists who had worked for a united front at home and a common international policy on that basis between London, Paris and Moscow, look out after these executions on ruins. No path runs clear through the debris. With some reservations, we had thought Stalin more nearly right over policy than Trotsky. But after this bloodbath—a friend of mine, by drawing on the English press alone, has counted 600 executions—one has to realize that in a land where loyal opposition is impossible, there can be neither stability nor health.

London. H. N. BRAILSFORD.

Church and State in England

I WAS talking the other day to an eminent civil servant. "The four most powerful people in England," he said, "are the Prime Minister, the governor of the Bank of England, the editor of The Times, and the Archbishop of Canterbury." That is hardly, I think, a combination that any country but England could offer to the observer. It contains the name of no rich man; and each name is the symbol of a representative and, in its way, a unique institution. What, within its kind, is the significance of the Archbishop's presence there?

He is the leading ecclesiastical figure. He sits in the House of Lords. He is the symbol of the richest religious body in the country. He has the ear of the King—still a great influence in our politics. He is in constant contact with the government of the day. No one can lightly disregard his official pronouncements. He is always consulted by the Prime Minister on the disposal of the very large ecclesiastical patronage which lies in the hands of the Crown.

But when one says that he is the symbol of the National Church, for what does the National Church stand? It is certainly not the conscience of the nation in any effective sense of the word; and its appeal narrows rather than widens. It has no taut set of dogmas defining its religious policy. Modernist, Evangelical, Anglo-Catholic, it would be difficult to say for what it precisely stands in a religious way. Politically, its votaries range from left-wing Socialists, like Mr. Lansbury, to narrow-minded Tory reactionaries, like Dean Inge. It may include without difficulty a canon of St. Paul's, like "Dick" Sheppard, who is an absolute non-resister, and a zealous patriot who, like the Bishop of London, would be easily at home among the Daughters of the American Revolution. It has its chaplains in every college of Oxford and Cambridge; they belong to every regiment of the army and every ship of the navy. Some of its representatives in the Empire are indistinguishable from the worst type of zealot imperialist; others, like Archdeacon Owen of Kenya, have nobly devoted their endeavors to safeguarding native rights from the evil lust of acquisitive commercialism.

The easy temptation, in the face of such variety, is to say that the Church of England stands for everything and, therefore, for nothing; that, in public opinion, the contradictory influences cancel one another out. Yet that is untrue. The Church plays an immense part in the national life. Its social prestige is immense. The landed gentry, the main body of successful business men, all tend to belong to its membership. Its official connection with the State gives it a vital place in all official ceremonial. Its places in the House of Lords give to a score or so of its representatives a national platform with which no other church can hope to compete. Its wealth is great enough to link most of its clergy to a social status unique among its ecclesiastical rivals. There are certain matters of social policy—the divorce laws, for example, or birth control—upon which no government would willingly go forward against its opposition. It has a privileged interest in our educational system which no government, either, would have the courage in normal times to invade.

What, then, is its secret? The best way, I think, to put the answer to that question is to say that the Church of England is the official conscience of the State. It represents, in the religious field, the outlook of those who dominate the policy of the State. It safeguards their habits, their traditions, their way of life, by clothing them with a religious sanction. It is not, as it was a hundred years ago, a simple

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dependency of reaction. It is rather a dignified emollient in the national life, seeking always to temper acerbities, to blunt the edge of conflict, to find ways of unity and integration. It states high principles—international peace, social justice and the rest. It never so urges their application that it finds itself supporting sudden or drastic change. It is the moderator which leaves the proponent of the Left faced, in all major matters, with the need to recognize that its immense social prestige is exerted on the side of compromise. The Archbishop, most notably, is almost by vocation the diplomat of such compromise. His supreme task is the fulfilment of Burke's ideal conservatism—the disposition to preserve and the ability to improve; and the whole emphasis of the power he symbolizes is on the first term of the equation.

If the problem is imperialism, the Church emphasizes the principle of trusteeship; but it will not go into details, because that is politics. If the problem is international relations, the Church is for peace—until the outbreak of war; then it remembers that it is a national church. If the problem is industrial conflict, the Church is for a just settlement; but details ought to be left to the parties and the government, since churchmen have no skill in these matters. The Church is for taking the profit out of war; but it will not pronounce, as a church, upon the wisdom of any particular procedure. The Church is for improved housing; but it will not so act as to arouse the wrath of the property-owners' association. The Church is against the bad public-house; but, as a church, it has no policy upon the drink traffic. One can find in church principles just what one looks for; and as its most eminent representatives are rarely saints, like Gore of Oxford, they are, also, rarely men who get angry. They are sound people who believe that freedom slowly broadens down from precedent to precedent. They are certain not to challenge the existing order; indeed their property depends upon its maintenance. They stand, as a church, for those admirable bourgeois virtues so superbly typified by Mr. Baldwin. Their influence is akin to his—a healing mitigation where this is possible; a protest against any attitude that implies violent reversal from the Left. Above all, they can be counted upon to emphasize character and decency. The direct highroad to salvation lies through a change in the individual heart. No institutional reformation has a comparable influence. We must guard against doctrines that find material foundations for social change. Ultimate truth is of the spirit. It is faith in things unseen that makes the true life of a man.

The urgency of this attitude is to conformity; it involves a recognition that it is wrong to outrage conventions which, in their essence, are the more liberal-minded conservatism of the Victorian epoch. These are the rock the Church seeks to preserve amid the shifting sands of a rapidly changing world. It is, I think, easy to see why this attitude was bound to conflict with the Duke of Windsor's way of life. What he proposed to do violated all the canons behind which as a criterion of conduct lay the safety of the Church. He was, formally, the head of that church. His violation of canons meant the erosion of their validity in the person of him upon whom the eye of the nation was centrally fixed. His success in their violation was an example likely to spread so widely that the Church would have to reconsider the foundation of all the habits and conventions to which it had become accustomed. Who could say what would be involved in that reconsideration?

It was not as though the Duke proposed a violation hidden from the multitude; he was attempting it in the full public view. Not to protest was, for the Church, to admit that it had no inherent independence, that it adapted what it claimed as Divine Law to the requirements of human appetite. To be silent was to open the floodgates; no man could know whither, once open, the tide would flow. It was, thus, inevitable for a body with the interests and habits of the Church to act as it did. Its good fortune was that it obtained support from quarters wholly uninterested in the particular end it sought to serve: I do not think, for example, that there were five members of the Labor Party who supported Mr. Baldwin on the grounds upon which the Archbishop relied. But there is no doubt that the result, partially at least, is a temporary victory for the forces of ecclesiasticism. For a considerable time to come, official England will observe the conventions upon which the influence of the Church depends. The floodgates remain closed. The Archbishop shares, with Mr. Baldwin, the laurels of the victory of last December.

But I think the long-term result is less certain. The Archbishop (and the Church) did not gain in popular esteem from the aftermath of the abdication; on the contrary, he has left a widespread sense of unnecessary and undignified vindictiveness. His call to religious revival fell singularly flat. It was obvious that he had no specific purposes in view which would arouse the sense of a crusade. The attitude of the Church to the Duke of Windsor's marriage seemed to many people an unhappy mixture of pettiness and ill temper; to force the resignation of the clergyman who blessed the marriage was, to say the least, an ungenerous gesture. But these are merely straws in the wind. What is more important is the fact that there is no vital issue of our time in which the Church has anything specific to contribute. If the Bishop of Durham protests nobly against the ill treatment of German scholars, the Bishop of Gloucester writes of Hitler like one who is eager for the advent of his English imitator. If Archbishop Temple of York sympathizes vaguely with the Labor Party, the ex-Dean of St. Paul's is its most ardent critic. There is no evidence, in short, to show that the Church's way of life makes any effective difference to the behavior of its members. Some are Tory, some are Liberal, some are Socialist; but the answers they make to the urgent issues of the time have no real relevance to the fact that they are part

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of a Christian society. If they were members of a fellowship of agnostics the same divisions, and, no doubt, the same conduct, would be displayed.

That is why I have called the Church of England the public conscience of the State. It supports, broadly speaking, the way of life of the successful men and women of Great Britain. If it mitigates acerbities in policy, it acts also as a means of giving respectability to the formulas of their governance. Its real religious foundation is nothing so much as the public-school spirit of England, coming to maturity as to the outlook of the "gentleman." There are certain rules to be observed: there is a certain team spirit; there is an abhorrence of excess. Tradition must be respected, and departure from the line it traces is the final sin. Its whole quality is to throw a glamor about the thing that is; experimentalism, novelty, reconstruction, are all alien from the temper it encourages. The Church, in a word, is the supreme guardian of the conventions that constitute the essence of traditional England; it brings to them the sanction of an official religion. It therefore endows them with a respectability which is interrelated with all the magic symbols that present resistance to rational inquiry. The Monarchy, the City, the Church of England—these are the three fundamental ramparts of the ancient ways in Great Britain. They are built in large part of the same habit of mind; they guide, largely also, the same ends. The King, the governor of the Bank, the Archbishop of Canterbury—in this trinity is the essence of bourgeois England. It will not suffer erosion until reason has penetrated the mysteries of the citadel they preserve.

HAROLD J. LASKI.

On the Labor Front

I: The Farm Workers Meet

TWO CONVENTIONS were held simultaneously in Denver a fortnight ago. One was that of the Elks, which got practically all the attention of the local press and public and was of little or no real significance. The other, largely ignored by Denver, was in my opinion of the greatest importance. It was the first convention of the Agricultural and Cannery Workers, a new, nationwide group representing workers in agriculture, canning and fruit-and-vegetable packing. There were a hundred delegates, spokesmen for roughly 100,000 agricultural workers. They came from every part of the country and from numerous industries. They had in common, beyond all else, the fact that they belong to the submerged third of the population to which President Roosevelt so feelingly refers.

As Donald Henderson, president of the newly formed international, pointed out, the men in these industries occupy a peculiar position. They are a part of labor, yet they are closely bound in with agriculture. "We are the link between the great industrial labor movement and the working farmers of the United States. No other union has such a strategic position as we have."

Among these delegates were no slick professionals. Here were the men who chop cotton, pick fruit, work in the beet and onion fields. Here were oyster shuckers, fish canners, a spokesman for the Florida turpentine camps, where the workers are held in virtual peonage. Men were here from the Southern Tenant Farmers' Union, whose plight has now penetrated even to the minds of the most casual newspaper reader or movie-goer. If any group in America deserves the title of Forgotten Men, it is these workers. The NRA did nothing for them. The AAA on the whole worked to their disadvantage, especially as concerned the sharecroppers in cotton and tobacco. Habitually, they are left out of legislation passed in Washington for social security, restriction of wages and hours, curtailment of child labor, etc. The Department of Agriculture exists for farm owners, not for these wage workers. The Department of Labor ignores them on the ground that they belong in the Department of Agriculture. They turn up in Washington chiefly in the statistics of the Children's Bureau, and a sorry record they have there.

At the convention, threads were drawn together from various parts of the country that have never been assembled before. We heard of the beginnings of agricultural workers' organization a few years ago in New Jersey, Florida and on the Pacific Coast. Reports were made on recent developments in the California farm areas, where the ranchers, fearing the advent of the CIO, have been using all possible coercion to force their workers into the A.F. of L. union—which should amount substantially to a company union henceforth, in view of its origin. We learned of the position in the Pacific Northwest, where the canners and agricultural workers have formed the Northwestern Council, aided by the Maritime and Woodworkers' Federations. The Northwestern Council, strong in the canneries and weak in the agricultural areas, is seeking to double its present membership of 100,000. We were told of what may be the first union to be organized from the start under the CIO, the United Railway Icemen's Union, taking in the men who ice perishable fruits in transit. It was striking to see the racial groups represented at the meeting—white men, Negroes, Filipinos, Japanese, Mexicans and other Latin Americans. With a common bond of poverty and exploitation, these men lustily cheered

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the address by John Brophy, welcoming them on behalf of the CIO. Previously, they had knocked in vain on the doors of the A.F. of L.

One of the important matters discussed at the conference was the effort, now being made, to drive a wedge between the farm owners, especially in the Middle West, and organized labor. One speaker after another told how the word is sent around among the owners of small farms that the CIO is hostile to the farmer and that there is no possible common ground of interest between agriculture and organized labor. Such speakers as Jim Patton of the Farmers' Union and John Bosch, president of the Farm Holiday Association, warned the delegates how tremendously important it is to meet this propaganda and answer it. John Bosch proposed the setting up of a Committee for Agricultural Organization, to embrace independent owners, tenant farmers, agricultural labor and the coöperatives. These would all be linked together under a central organization, as rubber, steel, mines, etc., are linked today through the CIO. If his suggestion should become a fact, the whole industrial and political complexion of the country may, in the long run, be altered. And in any case, the Denver gathering represents a notable forward step by a group of workers whose merciless exploitation is one of the darkest chapters of recent American history.

Denver. MARY HEATON VORSE.

II: The CIO on Capitol Hill

A FEW days ago, news flared across the nation in front-page headlines that a strong new drive is under way for union organization of federal government employees. The occasion for the headlines was comment by President Roosevelt, who gave it as his opinion that government employees have no right to strike, and, since their wages and hours are specified by Congress, their right of collective bargaining is restricted. His statement came after the CIO had quietly launched an organization drive among the government's employees. The United Federal Workers of America is already in operation, with Jacob Baker, erstwhile assistant WPA administrator, as provisional president.

In spite of the preoccupation of the public with the steel strike, the viewers-with-alarm have found enough time in busy weeks to worry loudly over the prospects of the long arm of the CIO reaching out to seize the government itself. Such ever ready defenders of democracy as Mr. Boake Carter, Mr. Eugene Meyer and his Washington Post and Mr. William Green quickly rose to point out the dangers of the CIO in government.

The objections of Carter and Meyer to the presence of a CIO government union are based nominally on a fear that John L. Lewis will soon take up quarters in the Lincoln Memorial and that the muddy waters of the Potomac will run red. Green, while he has confided to the Hearst press that he shares these fears, has something more tangible at stake. The A.F. of L. already has a union in the vast government industry with its hundreds of thousands of unorganized. Thus, conflict is to be looked for.

To understand why such a struggle should take place, it is necessary to know something of the history of the American Federation of Government Employees, an A.F. of L. affiliate with about 25,000 members. In the course of five years of existence the AFGE has been the scene of bitter conflict between progressive unionists—now suspended and the nucleus of the new CIO union—and a dominating clique of reactionary nature. There is also in the government field an independent union, the National Federation of Federal Employees, with about 50,000 members and a history of twenty-one years of inertia. In spite of its larger membership, the NFFE is less significant than the AFGE, since it is quite inert, unleavened by any progressive groups.

The AFGE smacks strongly of company unionism, though it advances economic demands which it fails to fight for. Its governing body consists almost entirely of high-ranking administrative and personnel officers with a heavy concentration of Civil Service Commission officials. Opposition to the AFGE leadership arose when the New Deal brought numbers of liberals to Washington. Open conflict dates from the Donovan case in 1934. John Donovan, NRA lodge president, was fired from the NRA by General Hugh S. Johnson. The NRA lodge charged union discrimination, carried the case to the Labor Relations Board, and there won Donovan's reinstatement. The campaign was vigorously fought; picketing and mass delegations were effectively used. The AFGE leadership, while not openly sabotaging the Donovan fight, temporized, and at the next convention made sure that there would be no further militant fights. The convention, under pressure, amended the constitution to forbid strikes and picketing, limited delegations to five, and prohibited the issuance of "publicity designed to embarrass the federal government."

From that point on it was an open fight between the progressives and old-line leaders. The final struggle occurred quite recently over the issue of false economy in the government. The progressives had long maintained that the AFGE was backing its economic demands with only a highly ineffectual lobby. When the Byrnes and Cannon bills, plus the sharply reduced emergency relief appropriation, threatened serious cuts in government personnel, and when in the face of this the national office of the AFGE persisted in inactivity, seven progressive lodges banded together for immediate action. In spite of AFGE President Stengle's cease-and-desist order, they held a highly successful protest meeting, and as a result were suspended. Following the suspension, CIO overtures were begun, and the United Federal Workers of America was launched.

The CIO union has begun with a membership of about 3,000, including several independent lodges in addition to those thrown out of the AFGE. There

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are at least 3,000,000 employees on the payrolls of the federal, state and local governments. The UFWA, however, takes only the federal service, exclusive of the Army, Navy and Post Office. There remain about 475,000 who do the administrative work of the federal government. Of these about 85,000 are already organized; four-fifths of the field remains open. It is not to be assumed, however, that the CIO will sweep the federal government as it has the basic industries. Government employees are white-collar workers; they are if anything more conservative than most in that they feel considerable loyalty to the service, have more than average security of tenure, somewhat higher wages and longer vacations. Another, and a real difficulty, as Mr. Roosevelt suggested, is the fact that government wages and hours are set by statute, so that wage negotiations must be done by lobbying.

The question of wages apart, the new CIO union will be confronted by a lack of any uniform collective-bargaining policy in the government service. The predominant attitude of government personnel heads is that the government workers are a group apart from the bulk of wage-earners, to be treated with a restrictive paternalism.

Government workers do have pressing needs, however, which can only be met by legitimate trade-union activity, and it is this that the CIO union must provide. If government employees have nominal security of tenure, they still have little redress against unfair dismissal. The mean government wage is still somewhat less than $1,500 annually and shows no tendency to keep up with cost of living. The apathy of the government clerk stems from ignorance rather than from a lack of grievances.

The CIO union in its first statements seems to meet the problems realistically. It has begun by demanding a labor-dispute board for the government service. In the Union News Service appeared a clear statement of the power of a lobby backed by CIO votes to effect statutory improvements in government wages and hours. Meanwhile there have been no CIO actions to disturb the sleep of conservatives.

Probably the most rapid growth of the UFWA will first take place outside of Washington where government employees are less insulated and in closer contact with the worker in industry. In the course of the next year, while the CIO union is slowly growing to a membership equivalent to the AFGE and the NFFE, education through legitimate trade-union activity will undoubtedly prepare the bulk of government workers for organization.

RICHARD SASULY and CHARLES FLATO.

How Liberal Is Justice Hughes?

AN UNDERSTANDING of Mr. Chief Justice Hughes involves much more than the technique by which he has built up a reputation as a liberal while helping to shape the reactionary judicial policies. By writing more than his share of liberal opinions, when he stood with the liberals, he became associated in the public mind with liberal thinking, and by assigning the writing of reactionary opinions to others, when he was a reactionary, he made it impossible for the liberals of the Court to make him the target of their dissenting opinions. However, the fact remains that Hughes has voted with the liberals as often as with the conservatives. To discover where he stands it is necessary to examine the quality of his liberalism and his conservatism. The first thing to consider is the time element.

The public is aware that since Hughes went on the Bench the Supreme Court has fluctuated between liberal and conservative periods, caused by the veerings of the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice Roberts. An examination of the Hughes record shows six well marked divisions, reflecting the presence or absence of external influences. In these six periods the Chief Justice voted as follows in cases where the Court divided along reactionary and liberal lines:

First period. February to June, 1930. Reactionary 2, liberal 0. (No evident external influence.)

Second period. October, 1930, to June, 1931. Reactionary 2, liberal 9. (Reflex of the arrival of Mr. Justice Roberts on the Court, and cumulative effect of the Senate fight against the confirmation of Hughes and the defeat of Judge Parker.)

Third period. October, 1931, to March, 1933. Reactionary 20, liberal 6. (Effect of Senate fight worn off. Period ends with inauguration of Franklin D. Roosevelt, but includes March 13 because decisions announced then were reached before March 4.)

Fourth period. March, 1933, to February 18, 1935. Reactionary 6, liberal 16. (Era of New Deal acceptance by the business world, ending with gold-clause decisions.)

Fifth period. February, 1935, to November 3, 1936. Reactionary 19, liberal 11. (Period of business hostility to Roosevelt and belief among conservatives that the New Deal had lost popular support.)

Sixth period. November, 1936, to June, 1937. Reactionary 2, liberal 16. (Influence of 1936 Roosevelt landslide and proposal to reorganize the Supreme Court.)[1]

During three periods of liberal pressure from out-

[1] For this classification, as before, I have marked a decision liberal when two or more of the reactionary quartet dissented, and marked it reactionary when two or more of the liberal tric dissented.

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side the Court, Mr. Chief Justice Hughes voted liberal forty-one times, reactionary ten times. During three periods when liberal pressure was absent, he voted liberal seventeen times, reactionary forty-one times.

This needs to be compared with the record of Mr. Justice Roberts, who has been accused of nullifying the Hughes liberalism. Roberts became a member of the Court in June, 1930, at the end of the first "Hughes period." In three subsequent periods of external pressure toward liberalism, Mr. Justice Roberts voted liberal twenty-nine times, reactionary nineteen times. In the two periods when liberal pressure was absent, he voted liberal twenty-one times, reactionary forty-two times.

Note the greater swings of the Hughes vote. When the Court is under liberal pressure Hughes is more liberal than Roberts. In the absence of outside pressure Hughes is more reactionary than Roberts. This appears to substantiate the deduction that flows from the vocal quality of the Chief Justice's liberalism and the silence of his conservatism —that, in the main, he is a liberal through expediency and a conservative by inclination.

However, no man can be appraised through numerical summaries alone, for on some themes he may be consistently liberal, on some themes consistently reactionary; and special meaning may lie within his inconsistencies. So let us examine the record more closely.

The Chief Justice has stood with the liberals steadily in matters affecting civil liberties. Except for the first Herndon case, when he held that the right of a Negro Communist to a new trial under a Georgia "slave insurrection" statute depended on his ability to guess in advance what a state supreme court would do, he has a perfect record. He has upheld the legal and political rights of Negroes, Communists (including Herndon in the second case), pacifists, aliens and editors.

The great fluctuations in the Hughes record have been in cases involving economic conflict, the privileges of wealth, the rights of labor. But here too he has zones of consistency—consistent reaction. His outstanding reactionary consistencies are:

1. To strike down, at every opportunity, the powers of government administrative bodies which alone are competent to deal with business evils.

2. To build up the privileges and immunities of corporation directors and officers against the interests of stockholders, or of both against the public.

In other fields of economic conflict—taxation, utility valuation—the trend is the same but the record is mixed.

The Chief Justice launched his campaign against administrative agencies in Crowell v. Benson.[1] In this case Hughes denied the right of Congress to empower an administrative agency to make a final record of facts upon which to award compensation to an injured longshoreman. Under the principle thus established, any administrative finding of fact bearing on "due process" can be set aside and the case tried *de novo* on appeal.

The theory on which the Chief Justice proceeded was expounded by him in the St. Joseph's stockyards case in April, 1936. Here he upheld the conclusions of the Secretary of Agriculture, yet denied his authority to reach them. Legislative agencies, he declared, "work in a field peculiarly exposed to political demands." To say that the findings of fact made by such agencies shall be conclusive where constitutional rights are concerned "is to place those rights at the mercy of administrative officials and seriously to impair the security inherent in our judicial safeguards."

Although the liberals were unable to dissent in this case, since they agreed with the conclusion, Mr. Justice Brandeis in separate concurrence repeated the question asked by the district court below: Is there anything in the Constitution which makes findings of fact "by a jury of inexperienced laymen" conclusive, yet forbids Congress to give equal weight to findings "by a highly trained and especially qualified administrative agency"—both sets of findings being supported by substantial evidence? Brandeis declared that if the Hughes theory were correct, the courts had broader power to set aside findings of fact by an administrative tribunal than to set aside a jury's verdict.

In this same month, April, 1936, Hughes aided the Court to strike another blow at federal administrative law, in the case of Jones v. SEC. A corporation wishing to sell securities filed a registration statement with the SEC and attempted to withdraw it to prevent a hearing on a stop order. The government, arguing before the Supreme Court, said that the right to withdraw under fire would seriously embarrass the Commission, since a registrant might file statement after statement, withdrawing each one when attacked, in the hope that by perseverance he might escape the vigilance of the examiner.

The Court replied through Mr. Justice Sutherland that since nobody had bought the stock, abandonment of the application was of no concern to anyone except the registrant, and the action of the Commission was wholly unreasonable and arbitrary. Let such orders be upheld, he said, and the cardinal precepts of personal liberty are violated; "the government ceases to be one of laws and becomes an autocracy."

Defense of business immorality in terms of personal liberty flows fluently from the pen of Mr. Justice Sutherland. But the procedural restraint—striking down the administrative power of a governmental commission—is the particular forte of Mr. Chief Justice Hughes. The decision bears the stamp of his hostility to quasi-judicial agencies created to regulate business. He voted for it. But he offered Mr. Sutherland the privilege of tak-

[1] The only case in which Hughes has written a reactionary opinion for a divided court, though he has helped form fifty-one reactionary majorities.

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ing the flesh-searing punishment from Mr. Justice Cardozo.

"Recklessness and deceit," said Cardozo, "do not automatically excuse themselves by notice of repentance. . . . When wrongs such as these have been committed or attempted, they must be dragged to light and pilloried. To permit an offending registrant to stifle an inquiry by precipitate retreat on the eve of his exposure is to give immunity to guilt; to encourage falsehood and evasion; to invite the cunning and unscrupulous to gamble with detection."

We shall never have an understanding of the part played by Mr. Chief Justice Hughes unless we realize that doctrines which are peculiarly his own come from the lips of other men on the Bench. Time after time, devastating criticisms leveled by the liberals at Sutherland, Roberts, McReynolds or Butler would have been directed squarely at the Chief Justice except for his policy of refusing to write reactionary opinions after helping to formulate the reactionary position.

This part of the Hughes technique looms large in connection with valuation of public utilities, a subject now at a crucial stage within the Court.

On May 8, 1933, ushering in the "New Deal period" of judicial liberalism, the Chief Justice wrote the opinion for a 5-to-4 court in the Los Angeles gas-rate case, in which he said it was none of the Court's business what method of valuation a state commission used, provided the result was not confiscatory. Finding that a seven-percent return was not confiscatory, the Chief Justice upheld the rate reduction despite the use of valuation methods condemned by the Court.

Two years later, by a vote of 6 to 3, the Court set aside a Wisconsin order reducing telephone rates, without considering whether the new rate was confiscatory. It did so on the sole ground that the Wisconsin commission had used an improper system of valuation. Mr. Justice Roberts wrote the opinion. Mr. Justice Stone riddled it in dissent. For the first time in its history, Stone said, the Court had nullified a rate under the "due process" clause without finding it confiscatory, merely because of an error in procedure by the state body. Under such a ruling, "every error by a state court would present a federal question reviewable here."

On June 2, 1937, by a vote of 4 to 4,[1] the Supreme Court sustained a decision by the federal Court of Appeals in San Francisco following and expanding the Wisconsin case. In a 4-to-4 vote, the line-up is not disclosed, but it is obvious that Mr. Chief Justice Hughes and Mr. Justice Roberts took opposite sides. The tie vote also thrust into the future a final decision which means life or death in rate regulation. Looking at the matter superficially, it would seem that Mr. Chief Justice Hughes, who wrote a liberal opinion on this very issue in 1933, sided with the liberals on this issue, and Mr. Justice Roberts, who wrote a reactionary opinion on it in 1935, sided with the reactionaries. But it is not so simple as that. Where did the Chief Justice stand in 1935? He voted to destroy his own 1933 opinion.

Hughes is a proud and stubborn man. He would be the last man on the Court to accept the validity of the Roberts opinion in the Wisconsin telephone case unless the suggestion for it came from himself. But write the opinion? Why do so when Mr. Justice Roberts was willing to face the Stone dissent? Mr. Justice Roberts is an accommodating man. In twenty-seven cases in which Hughes and Roberts have combined to produce a 6-to-3 reactionary majority, Roberts has written the opinion of the Court eleven times, Hughes not once. Considering also that Mr. Justice Roberts has a more liberal record than the Chief Justice when the Court is not under pressure, and that the absence of opinions in this case took pressure off the Court, it may be doubted whether Mr. Chief Justice Hughes is the liberal and Mr. Justice Roberts the reactionary in this 4-to-4 division. Both, however, may be classed as safe for the utilities when the courts come to deal with the estimate of Chairman McNinch of the Federal Power Commission that power-company valuations totaling $13,000,000,000 include $6,500,000,000 of obsolete junk and water.

The readiness of Hughes to protect corporation officers and directors against stockholders was shown in the case of Rogers v. Guaranty Trust Company, in which he helped to knock out a court test of the right of President Hill of the American Tobacco Company to receive extra compensation of $1,169,280 (in addition to salary and bonus of more than $1,000,000) under the guise of a stock-participation plan for employees. Mr. Justice Butler faced the liberal dissent.

In the Ashwander (TVA) case, and again in one of the social-security cases, Mr. Chief Justice Hughes joined the four reactionaries in upholding the right of stockholders to sue the directors to restrain them from acts which were within their legal discretion or their duty. The result is to make it possible for corporations, by collusive suits, to control both sides of a constitutional test case, except as the government is able to intervene. Brandeis, Stone, Roberts and Cardozo wanted both cases thrown out of court.

No case, perhaps, is more typical of the unrestrained workings of the Chief Justice's mind than that of U. S. v. Elgin Railway, decided in the "happy days" of May, 1936. There it was held that that railroad, wholly owned by the U.S. Steel Corporation, does not violate the law which says that no railroad shall haul the products of a corporation when one company has a financial interest in

[1] The failure of Mr. Justice Sutherland to take part in this case did not prevent a reactionary decision, but did prevent the writing of opinions, and thus deprived President Roosevelt of the biggest chunk of dynamite he could have had in his court reorganization fight.

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the other. One subsidiary, said the Court, does not own or control the other subsidiary, and the connection between them through the parent company is so remote that it may be disregarded. The Chief Justice voted for this; McReynolds wrote the opinion. Stone asked what was left of the statute.

The Hughes record on the taxing power is complex and inconsistent. In all, the Chief Justice has stood with the liberals in twelve cases involving state and federal taxing power, and with the reactionaries in twenty-six cases. He has upheld graduated state taxes on chain stores in his liberal periods, and joined in knocking them out in his reactionary periods. Where taxation has been an incident in a broader policy, he has been governed by the more fundamental issue. Opposing federal control of agricultural production, he struck down processing taxes. Upholding the principle of social-security legislation, he sustained social-security taxes. The fact that he upheld railroad pensions in one of his reactionary periods is one of the best spots in his career.

On tax avoidances the Chief Justice has a mixed record. He joined in the high-handed decision denying Congress the power to place an estate tax on gifts made within two years of death. He has swung back and forth on the use of trust devices to escape taxes. After upholding an indirect tax on income from instrumentalities of government in the Educational Films case (January, 1931), he went over to the reactionaries in the famous Coronado Oil case, exempting the income of an oil company which leased lands owned by the state of Oklahoma on the ground that the lease was an instrumentality of government. At this point Justices Brandeis, Stone and Cardozo, supported in slightly lesser degree by Roberts, began a campaign to wipe out the illogical system of mutual state and federal tax exemptions which have been built up by gradual exaggeration and misapplication of some loose remarks by Mr. Chief Justice Marshall. Mr. Justice Stone now leads the movement to wipe out these archaic misinterpretations of the Constitution, and Mr. Chief Justice Hughes has come to the front in their defense.

The three-way division of the Court in Brush v. Commissioner of Internal Revenue, March 15, 1937, was treated merely as an oddity in the press. It was really a notification by Stone, Cardozo, Brandeis and Roberts that they were ready to cut down or knock out these tax exemptions without a constitutional amendment. This was a case in which the Hughes technique allowed the Chief Justice to write the Court's opinion, defending the system of exemptions, because the basic challenge to his position was in the form of a concurring opinion by Stone and Cardozo which meant nothing to the public. Hughes, of course, is not really interested in exempting waterworks engineers from the income tax. He knows that if the salary exemptions based on conflicting state and federal sovereignty begin to tumble, all non-discriminatory taxation will ultimately be upheld, and the multi-millionaire's haven of tax-exempt bonds will be no more.

A statement that the Chief Justice helped create a liberal majority forty-three times, and voted with the liberals in dissent fifteen times, is likely to create an exaggerated notion of the extent to which he has upheld federal power. In all of his liberal votes prior to the day President Roosevelt sent his judiciary message to Congress, Mr. Chief Justice Hughes voted to broaden federal power just twice —in the gold-clause cases and the railroad-pension case. All of the other cases involved state power, civil liberties or details in the application of federal law.

Against this, in the same period, place the Chief Justice's anti-federal dicta in the Schechter case (which is not classed among his reactionary votes because the division in the Court did not take the form of dissents), the striking down of the AAA, his vote and separate opinion in the Guffey coal case, and the leadership he has taken in crippling federal administrative agencies.

One of the most effective methods in the Hughes technique is inserting in his opinions dicta which do not bear closely enough on the case before the Court to force a liberal dissent, but which open the way to reactionary decisions in the future. In the Ashwander case he upheld the right of the government to sell power from the Wilson Dam, but concluded with a paragraph which has encouraged renewed and more extensive suits against the TVA. His unnoticed dicta in the Anniston case pave the way, if supported in the future, to transfer of hundreds of millions of dollars from the government to millers, packers and other payers of processing taxes. In his opinion upholding the Wagner Act, he inserted the apparently casual dictum that an employer does not have to sign a contract in collective bargaining—a statement nicely calculated to guide district and appellate judges when that issue comes before the Court. One may wonder whether twelve men would be dead in "little steel's" bloody warfare if the Chief Justice had remarked, just as casually, that a contract was but a test of good faith in acceptance of the law.

Hughes shifts back and forth with ease when passing on abstract powers of government. On broad, understandable issues, he is liberal in periods of liberal pressure, reactionary when that pressure is lifted. But in the long dark reaches of administrative law, of interpretation, of definition—in cases that determine whether valid laws shall function or die—he has never deviated an inch from his policy of making America safe for reactionary business. He holds the balance of power on the Court at a time when the Roosevelt New Deal is shifting to this latter phase of judicial review.

IRVING BRANT.

This is the second of two articles on the liberalism of Mr. Chief Justice Hughes.—THE EDITORS.

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Washington Notes

The Court Fight Gets Tougher—Chairman Sumners Tries Some Strong-Arm Tactics—Major Berry Sticks—TVA's New Contract

MR. ROOSEVELT and the New Deal have fallen into considerable danger. If Mr. Roosevelt has not yet arrived at Armageddon, he is at least entering the suburbs. His authority and prestige have been seeping away for many weeks; they are now at spring low tide. In the opinion of most observers here, he can still win, but only if he exerts himself as never before.

The fight over the Supreme Court bill is undeniably the most perilous of his whole career. He might reasonably have claimed victory when the Supreme Court upheld the National Labor Relations Act and the Social Security Act, or when Mr. Justice Van Devanter retired. Instead, he deliberately chose to carry the fight through to a finish. It was a brave choice, but one involving great risk.

Last week the respite afforded by Senator Robinson's death apparently was all that saved him from disaster. A few hours before Mr. Robinson died, according to a generally accepted story, a little group of previously uncommitted Senators met together to consider their position. They agreed that, while they would not vote directly against the Supreme Court bill and the President, they would vote to send the bill back to committee. Their support would have given the oppositionists a slender, but sufficient, majority.

From a long-range point of view, however, the most portentous happening last week came in the House, not in the Senate. Before a wildly emotional membership, Chairman Sumners of the House Judiciary Committee said baldly that he would never report the Supreme Court bill to the floor. Mr. Sumners has been in the House continuously since 1916; he has been through innumerable political wars, and he is supposed to have forgotten more about practical party politics than most men ever learn.

The prerogatives and duties of a congressional leader or chairman of committee are strictly defined by convention. While a bill is passing through its preliminary stages, he is entitled to oppose it by whatever means he can. But once a measure has been finally adopted by the organization leadership, it becomes his duty to defend it, at least in public. There is reason to think that Senator Robinson was acutely unhappy about the Supreme Court bill, but following this unwritten law he defended it with every show of loyalty up to the moment of his death.

Mr. Sumners deliberately violated this law. In effect, he called on the Democrats in Congress to establish a new party leadership from their own ranks, and by implication threatened to shut Mr. Roosevelt outside the party pale. There is, of course, something comic about bald-headed, purse-mouthed Hatton Sumners attempting to read Mr. Roosevelt out of the Democratic Party. But it should be noted that there is a very real difference between his position and that taken by the Senate oppositionists. Messrs. Wheeler, Burke, Clark, O'Mahoney and the rest accepted the status of rebels, and merely tried to justify their rebellion. Mr. Sumners quite evidently regarded himself as a responsible party officer, secure in his party virtue. The amazing and disheartening thing about his speech, moreover, was that the Democratic leader of the House, Mr. Sam Rayburn, listened mutely with bowed head, and the Democratic chairman of the Rules Committee, Mr. John J. O'Connor, encouraged Mr. Sumners with friendly questions. Not a single man of weight in the Democratic organization stood up in the House to defend Mr. Roosevelt.

No such performance as this has been witnessed in Congress in many years. Mr. Hoover was cordially disliked by the Republican leadership of his day, but his qualifications as the party head were never debated in public. Obviously this is a situation that cannot continue. Observers here think there are three solutions possible. The first is that Mr. Roosevelt, perhaps through an appeal to the mass of every-day citizens for support, will regain his mastery of the party organization and reduce the Sumnerses, Wheelers, Burkes and Clarks to their former silence. Another is that he will lose the Supreme Court bill, and that he and the congressional reactionaries will engage in a fierce scramble for control of the organization machinery, continuing up until the national convention of 1940. A final suggestion is that he will jettison the remainder of his program and reconcile himself to sharing his power with an Old Deal congressional junta. This last solution seems to me altogether unlikely; I can imagine Mr. Roosevelt's being beaten, but not his surrendering.

Immediately after last November's election, it was understood that Major George L. Berry would resign as head of Labor's Non-Partisan League. Eight months have gone by, and the Major still clings to his post. Nearly everyone likes the Major; his pleasure in his recent elevation to the Senate is so intense that it makes others feel pleased by contagion. His daily entrance into the Senate chamber, his round face glowing with an inward light, is among the sights of Washington. However, the Major is a large landowner and important business man in eastern Tennessee, as well as head of the printing pressmen's union, and has in addition lively political ambitions. These varied interests do not, apparently, leave him with much time to devote to the fortunes of the Non-Partisan League.

Recently it was reported that the Major intended to step down as soon as his place could be taken by Mr. Edward F. McGrady. Since it is not thought that Mr. McGrady has any wish to leave his present office as Assistant Secretary of Labor, this report has met with irritated skepticism. It seems unfortunate that the Non-Partisan League should be without an active, militant labor leader as chairman. Municipal and state primaries are near at hand, and the Non-Partisan League has a vast and necessary job to do.

The TVA's contract with Mr. Harvey Couch's Arkansas Light and Power Company, to which the power bloc in the House have taken violent exception, appears on examination to be relatively blameless. The Arkansas Light and Power will pay the TVA's full wholesale rate for the power it uses, and TVA officials say they want the income. They point out that they have a seven-year dam-building

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program ahead of them, and that it will be increasingly difficult to obtain appropriations from Congress as attempts are made to balance the budget. The company has pledged itself to pass on the savings it will make through the purchase of TVA power to its consumers—savings estimated at about $100,000 a year. The contract with the company gives the TVA no control over the company's retail rates, and it is admitted that they are not likely to be reduced to the levels fixed for the Tennessee Valley region proper. However, TVA officials point out that the fault lies with the TVA's organic law, which denies them any jurisdiction over rates outside the TVA area. There was no legal way in which they could write a more stringent contract. They say they had to agree to the contract as they did, or else let valuable power, the property of the government, run to waste.

Washington. T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Stuart Chase's Program as a Mark to Shoot at—How Near Has the President Come?—Why Do the Liberals Go on Hoping?

NOW THAT the inevitable has happened and the present administration has arrived at that disagreeable stage in its history where it is being submitted to intense scrutiny, it may be worth while asking what it has done about those goals which are more or less dear to the liberal groups.

One of the ablest, and certainly one of the most tolerant and hopeful and sincere of the liberal defenders of the administration has been Stuart Chase. I think a program of what he thinks Mr. Roosevelt, as the liberal champion, ought to have stood for, would be considered fair. In 1934, before the congressional elections, in an article in Scribners (August, 1934) he outlined a program for which he felt Mr. Roosevelt ought to stand and which he might get the progressive pressure groups to support. It is interesting now to look at it again and ask for which of these objectives Mr. Roosevelt has really stood. Here's the program:

1. The nationalization of the banks.
2. The reduction of the debt burden.
3. The financing of public works, especially housing, on a vast scale by non-interest-bearing credit.
4. A reduction in working hours.
5. The control of new investment.
6. The control through government monopoly of foreign trade.
7. The resettlement of millions of displaced miners, farmers, city workers, in new communities where both wage work and home gardening may be practised.
8. The nationalization of energy—including coal, oil and electric power.
9. The nationalization of transportation and communication.
10. The payment of minimum wages, by industries and by localities, to provide an adequate standard of health and decency.
11. A redistribution of national income, through stiff income and inheritance taxes.
12. Federal support of education, health and scientific research.
13. The calling of a constitutional convention to simplify the present unwieldly political system.
14. A minimum standard of subsistence for every person, whether he works or not, provided he is willing to work. (If he is not willing, he will have to be supported anyway, perhaps in a hospital for the mentally defective.)

As you examine that program now you must be a little disturbed at the extent to which it has been ignored.

There has been no talk of nationalizing banks, and the debt burden has been increased instead of lowered since then by six billion dollars.

The financing of housing on a vast scale with non-interest-bearing bonds has not been discussed and the low-cost-housing hope has been the most illusory of all.

There has been no reduction in working hours, though now, three years later, an illusory forty-hour bill full of holes is introduced.

No legislation to control new investment other than that already on the statute books when this program was outlined has even been introduced, and the Security Act of 1933 and the Stock Exchange Act have been seriously impaired in administration.

Of course there has not been even a whisper on the control of foreign trade through government monopoly.

And what could be a more grotesque farce than the resettlement fiasco involving the resettlement of 11,000 persons on farms which have plunged the resettled into additional debt ranging from $3,000 up to $15,000, instead of the millions of miners, city workers, etc., Mr. Chase hoped for?

Has anyone heard anything about the nationalization of energy—coal, oil, electric power?

Has anyone heard anything about the nationalization of transportation and communication?

As for minimum-wage laws, we have a minimum-wage bill now which contemplates wages as low as $10 per week and will actually accomplish nothing even if passed. And this bill has been three years getting introduced.

As for federal support of education, health and scientific research, there have been a few paltry dollars put out on this, but no real program has been even discussed.

And of course the chief enemy of a constitutional amendment and a constitutional convention has been Mr. Roosevelt.

This, all but a single plank, is the progressive hope that rested in Mr. Roosevelt. When you contemplate it and measure it beside the actual achievements and proposals of the last three years, you wonder why liberals continue to hope for anything in this quarter.

Mr. Chase's fourteenth plank refers to a minimum subsistence for every person, whether he works or not, provided he is willing to work. The Roosevelt administration has paid out money on relief, and that is the nearest it has come to this plank. But that relief has been paid with borrowed money increasing the public debt, which Mr. Chase wisely thinks should have been reduced. This was easy. It is easy to pay out money, particularly when you can pay it to one group without taking it from another.

JOHN T. FLYNN.

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New Film in a Dry Month

WHAT WITH all we know of Hollywood idiocy, capitalism, plagiarism, fearsome-fascism (read all about it), we ought to have a neat pigeonhole for the cycle of pictures with social teeth to them that the Warners have been releasing. If we are wise we won't, though: I never saw a good mouthful of dialectic yet that didn't prove any such thing impossible—they cannot be, hence they aren't, never were. And yet here currently is another, made from Ward Greene's novel on a case study of mob violence in the Deep South, directed and produced by Mervyn LeRoy, called "They Won't Forget." Whatever is behind it, the fact is that in content and uncompromising treatment this film is just the blood-and-guts sort of thing we've been hollering for. I suspect it's more fun to demand when there is a pretty good assurance you won't get it, and so I imagine there will be a certain embarrassment at finding that here it is, and in the guise of nothing more than a pretty good movie. Pshaw.

In any event, nothing has been left out of this picture of small-change humanity in a small city, the individual characters demonstrating how the simplest of mortal decencies may be brutalized into tragic and imbecile horrors by the workings of circumstance and inbred hostilities, of frustration and that universal muddy numbness of skull which almost begs these flip reporters and ham politicians to step in and play hell with it. A girl is murdered after hours in the business school; among other ephemera of evidence, the janitor and the Yankee teacher are observed at the building that afternoon; and the rest (the conviction and lynching of the Yankee) is done by the papers and a snide D.A. The D.A. is allowed some pretty plain words, saying that hanging the nigra would be a pushover, what he wants is a big-time trial; and when the leading citizens get panicky at the furor rising in both North and South, he takes them back to their part in all this and rubs their noses in it. The popular Governor is shown being broken by his own simple uprightness. And the whole thing is worked out so fairly that the brothers of the dead girl can serve as a focus of the hatred alive in that region, and still not be villains—for their lives had not been those of movie heroes, it had got so that slip of a girl was all they had to come home to at night, the way she had with her laughing, she was the prett'est little theng, etc. It happens to be the South but for once you can infer that it might be anywhere, shift the superficials and the basic stuff is still universal.

The film has an awful opening—six Civil War veterans lined up on a bench and speaking on cue for all the world like a Vitaphone short of Shep Fields and His Rippling Confederate Rhythm—but this is surely canceled by the handling of suspense in the schoolhouse; the powerful understatement in the fading out of the lynching sequence, where the camera doesn't follow the group away from the train but, as the other express comes through, raises the focus until the main object is the mail sack hanging from its patent gallows, seen for moments and then jerked out like a shot as the mail car passes, etc. For the most part, though, the story is told straightforwardly, the school, the home, the streets, the jail, first this, then that, one, two, three. And the general effect of day-by-day honesty is somehow helped out by a cast of unfamiliar faces, competent actors and not distinguished, altogether managing about the right air of candor, bewilderment, the good intentions and undistinguished state of actual life. The reporter was about the best; the Negro janitor sounded too much like a cantor with a cold for my taste; and of course Claude Rains's approach to a part is always to grab it by the throat—which happens to be just in character here. So the thing happens, slowly, before your eyes. Since nothing seems to have been omitted (the solution of the mystery can safely be left to William Powell films, I think), nothing had to be added. This is one of the cases where news made its own drama, complete with rise and fall, but where those who would reconstruct it (main credit still goes to Mr. Greene) must walk with even greater care than usual, for fear of making simple things too simple, the complex of causes and effects too pat, and thus robbing the story of life and its ends of power.

This isn't one of the pinnacles of art; we aren't talking of that here. But those who remember the heightening of fascination and awe that Fritz Lang achieved by the magic of his craft in "Fury" will also remember that his story never squared itself with its ending. There are many different levels of creation and recreation, but what we will principally find in "They Won't Forget" is that the plain statement may tell more and remain longer than fragmentary eloquence, however high and handsome.

It may seem incongruous that Edmund Wilson's piece of last week should appear in the same paper carrying these movie comments of mine—though it should not seem unnatural that a Journal of Opinion should be open to writers having some. Along with a couple of people in the office, Wilson himself suggested with a mean twinkle in his eye that I might want to "answer" his good licks of invective. Well, well, I've got my idea and I know Wilson has his and what's more would keep it if Jesus Christ, Karl Marx, Chaucer and Pushkin walked right out of the screen at him, holding hands and all in technicolor. And I've observed that when people with ideas start throwing them at each other like spitballs in print, nothing comes of it except a slight rise in circulation. I know how Wilson feels because I felt precisely the same way myself some years ago. The way I felt was a very unimportant and unprofitable way, of course, and so when I got a chance to do some actual writing, even if only film criticism, I snapped at it. Upon which, perhaps unfortunately for my state of mental balance, I had to learn about pictures, see them and see them plenty. Having to know about pictures before sounding off on them was a good thing for me I still think, but anyway the result is in the New Republic files of the last three-odd years. If there is a Question, the curious can find the Answer in the long, cumulative, sweated-out record of this column—over 100,000 words already, my God! And if you want to examine it, you will find that hot or cold it has been pretty seriously dedicated to the appreciation of a new, vast and popular art, uncharted and exciting and naturally often foul. And you will also see that what with its natural bent and limitations of space, there can't be very much room in it ever for things that have so precious little bearing on the actual making and function, the meaning and style and living effect of pictures today.

OTIS FERGUSON.

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The Bandwagon

Samuel D. Foley, District Attorney of the Bronx, declared, however, that he was little disturbed by noisy demonstrations of young men in colleges and the supposed menace of their talk about communism, fascism and nazism in this country, because in the event of war they would all be drafted.—*From a news item in The New York Times.*

What ought to be done with the men in the Valencia and Madrid government is to hang the lot of them. . . . —*Michael Williams, writing in The Commonweal, American Catholic Weekly.*

For the first time in Germany the mother of a Jew arrested in Stuttgart on suspicion that he committed a "Rassenschande" [miscegenation] offense, will be tried for failing to put an end to the relations of her son with an Aryan girl.—*News item in The American Hebrew.*

A newspaper is an economic paradox. It sells the news to the public at less than it costs, and sells space to advertisers for less than it costs, yet, combining these two, it must return a profit on the investment.—*From a report of an address by R. L. Litchfield, advertising manager of The San Francisco Call Bulletin, in Ad Age, official publication of the San Francisco Advertising Club.*

He Hit Me in the Fist with His Eye

Japanese military authorities warned the nation tonight that the preservation of peace in China was becoming hopeless.—*Associated Press dispatch from Tokyo, July 16.*

The Music of the Spears

"When I heard that Doc Krise had shot a man and then turned around and used his mace on another, I admired him for it. He showed presence of mind, more presence of mind than you or I would have used."

Barnhardt protested that police ought to be sparing in the use of their weapons during critical times.

"I don't agree with you," the Mayor insisted. "He showed wonderful presence of mind. We need policemen like him. A world without police would be like a world without music—a very dreary world indeed."—*Mayor Daniel J. Shields, of Johnstown, Pa., speaking from the bench while presiding over the trial of six striking steel workers. Quoted by Edward Levinson in The New York Post.*

Uh-Huh

As a rule successful capitalists are willing to give loyal workmen almost anything they may claim if they can only persuade labor leaders to accept it.—*An editorial paragraph in The Washington, D. C., Evening Star.*

Can Those Cops Take It!

Four Catholic priests and seven laymen . . . were charged with leading an uprising. . . . Authorities assert that police seeking to disband the Catholic youth organization . . . were knocked down and beaten with prayer-books and rosaries.—*From a Berlin dispatch to The New York Times.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Bandwagon, care of The New Republic.—The Editors.

CORRESPONDENCE

Answering Señor Madariaga

SIR: The letter from Salvador Madariaga in your issue of July 7, 1937, seems to me quite disingenuous, to say the least. The facts demonstrate, I believe, that The New Republic was understating its case when it called Madariaga "a safe conservative."

During the last few months in America Señor Madariaga, while purporting to be completely impartial on the Spanish situation, has constantly turned the minds of American citizens against the struggling Spanish democracy. This he has done by such arguments as that the loyalist government and its Left supporters were primarily responsible for the rebellion, and that General Franco is a patriot and progressive who would never in the world grant any concessions to Italy and Germany. Señor Madariaga has at the same time continually emphasized the "atrocities" on the government side. Every friend of Franco and fascism should be grateful to Señor Madariaga for his splendid work in their behalf.

It should also be added that during this same period Señor Madariaga has been trying to start a special show of his own in the form of a "World Foundation," which seems likely to duplicate the work of several existing organizations devoted to the aim of international peace and understanding. Señor Madariaga is raising money among wealthy Americans to finance the World Foundation, of which he is to be director and which is to have a nice little annual budget of $250,000. All liberals, however, will naturally have grave questions on the pet project of anyone as negative towards democracy as Señor Madariaga has recently shown himself to be.

Frank C. Hanighen.

New York City.

SIR: If Señor Madariaga had had the usual experience of pacifists, a phrase like yours, "a safe conservative," ought not to have seemed so very offensive. No government and no partisan of a government loves real pacifists. In their eyes we're traitors, and have to bear the stigma without flinching. Compared with "treachery," surely "liberalism" or even "conservatism" is an endurable epithet. . . . I have different complaints from yours to make about Señor Madariaga's six months' campaign in the United States. Taking no partisan stand in public on the Spanish war and claiming the pacifist faith, why did he not cry out for American mediation, official or unofficial? What else can a pacifist do but urge immediate armistice?

Also I complain that he neither sought contact with all who have shown their interest in the Federation of Nations, nor did he respond to our offers of coöperation. For active work in organizing public support all sympathizers must be welcomed. Does he not want action now?

Winnetka, Ill. Lola Maverick Lloyd.

SIR: Señor Madariaga's protest published in The New Republic of July 7 cannot be passed over without a counter-protest from young pacifists . . . who had hoped that "Spain's most distinguished statesman" would help a bewildered world unite on a method of ending the carnage in the speediest and fairest manner. . . .

Instead of bringing enlightenment during his six months' American tour, Señor Madariaga refused to discuss the Spanish situation. His lectures were on Spanish Literature, Art and on the World Foundation plan he is advocating. Americans were anxious to hear this foremost authority on Spain on his country's plight today, and how best we could help, but Señor Madariaga requested

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his audiences to grant him the courtesy of not probing his opinions on the subject.

After six months' demonstration of perfect passivism in place of the active pacifism we expected, why does Señor Madariaga expect the editors of The New Republic to divine that he "would have had pleasure" in placing his opinions on the subject before them?...

Señor Madariaga defends himself against the accusation of being "a safe conservative" by his promotion of "a world association wholly incompatible with fascism." In this connection, I recall that on April 4, at the Hotel Plaza, New York City, Señor Madariaga lectured on the subject of the World Foundation. . . . Throughout his lecture Señor Madariaga triumphantly informed his audience that the World Foundation would avoid "the burning issues of the day." Manchuria invaded, Ethiopia invaded, Spain invaded were no concern of the World Foundation: These were merely "the burning issues of the day." Señor Madariaga seeks five million dollars for the World Foundation. With the income derived from these millions, Señor Madariaga painted an idyllic picture of pamphlets published on the world community and world citizenship, issued possibly from a bombproof, gasproof cellar in Geneva to the world's millions who desire both a world community and world citizenship but in the meantime are kept busy destroying each other....

If Señor Madariaga were truly concerned with helping the world's millions find a way out of international anarchy, he would not be advocating another foundation duplicating the many already in existence which have not made the slightest dent on dictatorships and militarism, precisely because they find it more comfortable diplomatically to evade the "burning issues." And certainly, Señor Madariaga should have helped put out the fire in his own back yard, by urging mediation of the conflict in Spain.

New York City. EDITH WYNNER.

Prudent Philanthropy

SIR: It is high time that someone debunked the public art benefactions, of which there has been recently almost an epidemic. In the hands of an old man these collections are literally a "hot potato," for the inheritance tax on them would be enormous and deplete the liquid assets of the estate. The federal rate alone on estates in the $10,000,000 bracket is 65 percent. A gift to private individuals would be subject to the gift tax. Since retention or private gift is out of the question, the choice is beween sale or gift for public purposes. No income-tax deduction is permitted for a loss on sale. A public gift affords such deduction (not in excess of 15 percent of the total net income of the donor in the year of gift), besides avoiding inheritance taxes on the proceeds of sale. The aggregate of these savings may very well equal or exceed the amount realizable by sale, if, indeed, a sale is practicable at all except at a small fraction of the appraised value. The gift of an endowment fund may be almost, if not fully, reimbursed by the saving of inheritance taxes on the fund, the benefit by way of income-tax deduction in the year of gift, and prospective savings of taxes on the building in which the collection is housed and income taxes on the income earned by the fund.

This is not to minimize the value of public art collections but only to point out that our present tax structure makes such gifts almost a matter of imperative necessity and prudent financial policy, apart from any purpose connected with public beneficence. Truly, the era of private art collections is passing and these treasures are coming back to the public domain, which is hardly any cause for regret. MEYER KURZ.

New York City.

Public Forums for Civic Education

SIR: May we call your readers' attention to the bill pending in Congress to encourage the establishment of public forums throughout the country by aiding states undertaking programs of adult civic education? This bill is sponsored by the federal Bureau of Education to extend their successful experiment in nineteen states to the whole country.

The indirect effects of this sort of public education are doubtless helpful to the maintenance of democracy. The Civil Liberties Union is supporting the bill and suggests that all champions of democratic rights address themselves directly to the chairmen of the committees on Labor and Education in the House and Senate. The Honorable Hugo L. Black is chairman of the Senate committee and the Honorable Vincent L. Palmisano of the House committee. The bill is Senate 2300 and H.R. 6485.

ROGER BALDWIN, Director,
New York City. American Civil Liberties Union.

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Edward Buckman of Cobalt, Ontario, writes to say he has joined the side of Hamilton Basso in the discussion [The New Republic, June 20] over T. K. Whipple's "Literature in the Doldrums," which appeared in our issue of April 21.... The American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born describes the case of Heinrich Reining, a twenty-one-year-old Nazi refugee, who escaped to the United States as a stowaway from Germany and was immediately deported. The Labor Department assures the Committee that Reining was returned to Holland, but there is still fear, the Committee feels, that he has fallen into the hands of Nazis.

Jerome H. Spingarn of Jersey City, New Jersey, feels that the article "LaGuardia Will Be Reëlected" [The New Republic, July 14] was superficial because it did not say who is in control of the election machinery. "It is very interesting and flattering to know that people *want* to vote for us," he says, "but when matchsticks are stuck into our levers in the voting machines I'm afraid public sentiment isn't going to help us very much."

Drake de Kay, executive secretary of the newly formed Elinor Wylie Poetry Fellowship, appeals for donations to the fund being raised to establish a $5,000 fellowship to be made annually or biennially (depending on available income) to men and women whose published work indicates poetic ability of a high order.... Richard Greenleaf of Orlando, Florida, has written an appreciation of the second Writers' Congress. As a "youngster and a nobody" he was "surprised, cheered and helped spiritually and artistically by the thoroughly democratic way" in which the Congress was run. Stimulated by the Congress, Mr. Greenleaf is now at work helping organize a similar meeting for writers of the Southeastern area.... G. B. Emery, 121 Avenue South, St. Petersburg, Florida, asks if any reader will supply him with the full text of Tolstoy's War Prophecy, published before the War.

Waldo Frank's letters on the subject of the Moscow trials receive a vigorous critical attack from Florence Lome of Chicago. She accuses him of having a "narrow view" about the trials and of ignoring the day-to-day accomplishments of the Communist Party of America.

A tale of savage brutality is told in a letter by one of those beaten in a steel-strike picket line in Canton, Ohio, sent to us by Elizabeth Morgan of Yellow Springs, Ohio. As she was driving home in her car, Miss Morgan's friend was beaten, her letter reports, badly enough to warrant hospital attention, her car was smashed, and $62 taken from her by the strikebreakers. She claims that National Guardsmen, who were called in to police the strike were the source of a great deal of the violence that occurred.

What's on the Air?

Secretary of Commerce Daniel C. Roper speaks on a program in the "United States Cabinet" series, Thursday, July 22, 10.30 P.M., CBS.

Dorothy H. Bennett, of the staff of the Hayden Planetarium, conducts a "Broadcast from the Sun," one of the "Drama of the Skies" series. Tuesday, July 27, 5:45 P.M., CBS.

Musical and dramatic programs of the week include broadcasts of the Wagner Festival from Bayreuth, Saturday, July 24, 1:15 P.M., and Monday, July 26, 2:05 P.M., NBC-Red Network; "Julius Caesar" with Claude Rains as Cassius, in the third production of the "Shakespeare Cycle," Monday, July 26, 9:00 P.M., CBS; and the Chicago Civic Opera Concert from Grant Park with Roy Shields conducting, Wednesday, July 28, 10:00 P.M., NBC-Blue Network.

All times given are Eastern Daylight Saving Time.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

"Give That Beat Again"

THIS NEW book of Edna Millay's[1] I have found a little disappointing.

For the first twenty-five pages or so, "Conversation at Midnight" is stimulating. Seven men of different kinds are brought together and made to talk about love, religion, communism, fascism, war and other subjects of current interest—with interludes on hunting, fishing, racing and mushroom-collecting. The poet is plunging with her ready intelligence into the confusion of cross-currents of the time, and the reader is put on the *qui vive*: he is expecting a revelation. But the discussion doesn't seem to come to much. It covers familiar ground, and the people—the stockbroker, the Communist, the liberal, the Roman Catholic, the artist, the sensualist, the advertising man—say many of the clever things that people usually say, without arriving at very many of the illuminating things which people do not usually say but which the poet ought to make them say. We expect it to gather momentum, but during the latter part it rather bogs down. At the very end, it mounts to a climax with an increasingly acrimonious altercation between the stockbroker and the Communist—each of whom accuses the other of submitting slavishly to regimentation—to which the liberal host puts an end by offering both the parties a drink.

But the dialogue is rarely allowed to penetrate to the fundamentals of the problems on which it touches. There are insights of considerable vividness—the picture of secularized man howling at night over the grave of God, the picture of the atheistic Communist rejecting the advances of Faith when it presents itself to his face only to succumb to an assault from the rear; but the really great forces which are upsetting the world somehow do not get squarely on the stage. What is really involved, for example, in such an argument as that between the radical and the stockbroker is the conflict between the classless and the class ideal; and Miss Millay has sidestepped this by making the pretenses of both parties ridiculous.

It may be that this part of the discussion has been blurred by Miss Millay's having lost her first manuscript and having been obliged to write the poem over. The worst developments of the Stalin dictatorship in Russia, with the new phase of the Stalin-Trotsky quarrel, which figure in this second version, had not yet taken place when the first one was written. And it may be that in the year which has elapsed since the first manuscript was destroyed by fire, Miss Millay has felt obliged to make her imaginary Communist more fanatical and less convincing in his desire to see his fellows happy and free, as the real Communists have been going in that direction. In one of her most revealing flashes, she makes the liberal address the Communist as follows:

> Russia under Lenin is so many light-years away,
> Its noble beam approaches you but now;
> You stand transfigured in the golden light today
> Of a star that, even while you bask in its bright ray,
> Blackens, and disappears.
> We must allow,
> Perhaps another nineteen years,
> Before you see what's happening in Russia now.

And the debate in "Conversation at Midnight" cannot have failed to be confused by all this. Yet there are larger issues involved in all these questions of religion and socialism, fascism and democratic ideals, which go deeper than the passing events of politics as they go deeper than the prejudices and emotions of such individuals as Miss Millay has imagined. And I do not see that Miss Millay has kept them in sight. For her the whole upshot of the matter seems to be that both the stockbroker and the radical hanker only after the status of obedient cogs in a smoothly operating machine. But is this what they are fighting about in Spain? Miss Millay probably does not really think so, as she has contributed to a volume of translations of Spanish poems published for the benefit of the loyalist cause; but you would never find it out from "Conversation at Midnight." Nor, failing a real dramatization of the issue of the democratic versus the capitalist society, does she focus the various opinions and types from any other clear point of view.

I believe that the fundamental trouble here is that Miss Millay lacks the dramatic imagination—that is, that it is not natural for her to identify herself with imaginary characters. Of her plays, "Aria da Capo" was an eclogue, highly charged and deeply disturbing, like all her best work of that time; but the characters—as was quite suitable—were pure abstractions. "The King's Henchman," which had some beautiful poetry in it, was a poem like the plays of Yeats. But in "Conversation at Midnight" she has tried to animate and keep distinct a number of different people and points of view; and her own very strong personal point of view turns out not to lend itself so easily to this kind of dissociation. She is attempting a sort of thing not unlike some of Bernard Shaw's plays and very much like J. Lowes Dickinson's "Modern Symposium"; but, failing their expertness in the analysis of ideas, she ought to, and tends to, get out of such a subject effects of emotional conflict of a kind quite alien to Dickinson or Shaw. Yet these emotional chemical reactions do not, to my mind, really occur. What does happen is that, on the one hand, she is either consciously satirizing her characters' banalities or commenting on them from a long way off, while, on the other hand, her own peculiar pessimism, with its noble magnanimity and bitterness, is always trying to rise to the surface but is never allowed to emerge. We keep listening instinctively through the chatter and chaff for the voice we are accustomed to hear, and now and then we think it is speaking:

> Ricardo said, "Whatever the case for God, the
> splendor of Man
> Cannot be questioned.
> This Music, this proud edifice erected
> Out of reach of the tide
> By drowning hands,
> This deathless, this impeccable, projected
> By peccant men, who even as they labored sank
> and died,
> Irrefutable witness to that splendor stands.
>
> It speaks more loud
> Than the waves that batter

[1] Conversation at Midnight, by Edna St. Vincent Millay. New York: Harper and Brothers. 131 pages. $2.

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The wild bluff:
There is no God.
But it does not matter.
Man is enough.

But compare this to Miss Millay's marvelous sonnet, "On Hearing a Symphony of Beethoven." For anyone capable of that, this was hardly worth doing at all. And in the meantime, the dramatized points of view of Miss Millay's fictitious personalities never give rise to any conflict half so real as the conflicts within the poet herself as she has expressed them directly in her own person:

Pity me that the heart is slow to learn
What the swift mind beholds at every turn.

The interchange of "Conversation at Midnight" mostly falls into a vein to which Miss Millay has not given play for some time, which she has, in fact, developed hitherto only in the pseudonymous dialogues and sketches which she was writing about fifteen years ago. "Conversation at Midnight" is worldly and witty in a way different even from "Figs from Thistles." Here is a chorus of males speaking antiphonally on the subject of women:

"Yes, there's a long list of items to that bill by the time you come to foot it,
Me lad," Pygmalion continued. "As Ogden Nash might put it:
They're always wanting attention, and if you don't feel like kissing them every minute of the day it's a misdemeanour:
And right in the middle of the season they send your shooting clothes to the cleanour." . . .

MERTON

And when you get your bath-towel wet wiping your hair
They put it back in the bathroom with a patient smile and show you the mark it made on the back of the chair. . . .

MERTON

And they use your last razor-blade and get it dull and don't tell you a word about it.

LUCAS

And when you ask them what they did with your old white sweater you can tell by their guilty look they've given it to the Good Will but they pretend they've never heard about it.

PYGMALION

And they're always saying, "Now don't interrupt me!" and always interrupting, and they can't let anything drop.
And they insist on telling long stories, which they do very badly, because they never know what to leave out or where to stop. . . .
And they leave lipstick on cigarette-butts and napkins and all around your mouth and on your collar.

MERTON

And when they buy something for 2.98 instead of 3 they think they've saved a dollar. . . .
And when you think they look nice and say, "Is that a new dress?" they exchange glances with some other woman.

PYGMALION

And they pride themselves on having a masculine mind when as a matter of fact they're hardly human.

She used to do this sort of thing in the prose of "Nancy Boyd"; but she has now developed a new semi-verse medium which is something like a combination of Ogden Nash and Robinson Jeffers, but which in her hands is much more flexible as it follows a quicker and subtler play of the intelligence. "Conversation at Midnight" *is* really very witty; and the imagery, as is usual with Edna Millay, provides an element of excitement and surprise through its power to intensify realistic observation presented with a daring baldness:

Corruption, too, is a kind of development—it depends on the viewpoint. . . .
To the buzzard under his shabby wings appraising the beach from above, the whip-ray
Till he be stranded and the land soldier-crabs have taken his eyes out
Has not achieved maturity.

But Nancy Boyd is not Edna Millay; and this group of ventriloquial figures does not bring her very much closer to being so. Not that Nancy Boyd isn't good in its way, and not that this book isn't all right in its way. But the best of the impersonal poems in the volume called "The Buck in the Snow," are more truly philosophical than the whole of this long discussion.

As for the verse, this reviewer has been prophesying for years about the obsolescence of verse technique and the gradual victory of prose; but now he finds himself a little dismayed at the rapidity with which the process is going forward. Little did we think in our youth, when the line of Milton still seemed irrefrangible and when we used to laugh in our innocence at W. S. Gilbert's rhymed but meterless ballad of "The Lost Mr. Blake," as Gilbert intended us to, that we should live to see the day when its interminable lines that look and sound like paragraphs of prose would be the type of much serious poetry. The beat of English verse has been so sprung, broken, muted, loosened, that it might almost as well be abandoned altogether. Compare MacNeice and Auden with Yeats and Housman; Robinson Jeffers with John Masefield; the early Eliot with "Murder in the Cathedral"; Ogden Nash with Franklin P. Adams. And now Miss Edna Millay, one of the sole surviving masters of English verse, has gone to pieces, too. She was beginning to handle her metrics negligently in the volume called "The Buck in the Snow," and she produced some very successful poems in this way; then she went further in "Wine from These Grapes." But it was in her translations from Baudelaire that the ravages of the mischief became alarming. Instead of rendering the ringing alexandrines of Baudelaire in English meters equally accurate and emphatic, she fell into what seemed a fallacy entirely uncharacteristic, of assuming that the effect of the French could be conveyed by trying to write French verse in English—that is, by dropping the English stress and letting the verses go loose. But the result was not a bit like Baudelaire: it was merely inferior verse for Miss Millay.

Now in "Conversation at Midnight," you see metrics in full dissolution. The stress is largely neglected; the lines run on for paragraphs; sometimes the rhymes fade out. Sometimes poor little sonnets, like souls from the Platonic overworld that want to be born again, flutter into the all-liquefying flux; but they find themselves simply carried

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along by the stream of the conversation and become filled with its miscellaneous content, to which their form has no special appropriateness and to which it is powerless to give symmetry or point. This is all quite distinct from the *vers libre* of some years ago, which, though prosy, was sharp and precise or had the rhythms of the Whitmanesque chant. But the rhythms are weary now: as Max Eastman says, they almost amount to a joke on disciplined writing itself.

I am not complaining about this state of affairs: I know that it is all on the cards. And "Conversation at Midnight" is highly entertaining, in any case. Edna Millay at her most relaxed is livelier than most of our poets at their brightest. But I miss her old imperial line.

EDMUND WILSON.

The Past Indefinite

In 1936, by Alvin C. Eurich and Elmo C. Wilson. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 628 pages, illustrated. $2.50.

American Hurly-Burly, by Ernest Sutherland Bates and Alan Williams. New York: Robert M. McBride and Company. 352 pages. $2.50.

Our Gallant Madness, by Frederick Palmer. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 328 pages. $2.50.

Victorian England: Portrait of an Age, by G. M. Young. New York: The Oxford University Press. 220 pages. $3.

THERE was a time—perhaps it was only yesterday—when to many of us it seemed as if we were making history so fast that we need spare no more than a moment for historical studies. Human history, properly understood, had begun at about the middle of the last century; in the matter of its study we were a generation of ancestors; and from thenceforth the task of the historian was to be dynamic, not static. No longer would it be his business to cultivate a sense of the living past. Instead, he would explain the future into being. This was a large order, as the historian himself was best qualified to tell us. But we had no time then to listen: we were much too busy keeping up with the times.

However, it would appear that the day of the historian's revenge is at hand. Judging by several of the volumes in the sheaf here under review, we have made so much current history that now we must all become amateur historians in order to keep posted on our own doings. Take, for instance, "In 1936," this carefully planned and indexed digest of digests by the questionnaire-makers of Time. Plainly, this is a book with a purpose—a work of painless reference for that vast and growing audience which must come up for periodic or occasional examinations, not too exhaustive, in recent world events. Everything is included, from news flashes on the war against cancer to a folding reprint of The Nation's chart, in six parallel columns, of the platforms in last November's election. (Name five American political parties, and state the agricultural policy of each.) The writing, needless to say, is Timestyle, which by now should alarm only the rival practitioners of it. Here Messrs. Eurich and Wilson have something that might as well come out each February and go round and around.

Turning from such a digest of fact and record to listen to the running fire of comment that the authors of "American Hurly-Burly" play over a narrower field, one reaches the opposite conclusion. On the basis of this performance, one is disposed to nominate Mr. Ernest Sutherland Bates and his collaborator for the title of Autocrats of the Breakfast-Table, Model 1936. A sample of their remarks: "Senator [William Cabell] Bruce is an exceptional biographer, the author of two excellent books about Benjamin Franklin and John Randolph. He has great admiration for the liberals of a century ago. Being now a dead liberal himself, he should be able during the next four years to write some more good books about other dead liberals." Another sample: "Practically every murder case has its disastrous effects upon some individuals." These two fellows will not be fooled by what they see in the papers.

Speaking of dead liberals (as who, these days, is not?), one leafs back over Mr. Palmer's "Our Gallant Madness" for a consecutive view of his judgment on President Wilson in war and peace. One is moved to do so because, in the concluding pages of his evocation of some of the ardors and disillusionments of twenty years ago, Mr. Palmer supports his title by saying: "The climax of our gallant madness had been in a President of the United States, who sought no other reward for his nation for its gigantic effort, entering the European lists in behalf of his sublime conception of the good of all mankind." A second scrutiny, however, leaves one still with the impression that Wilson, in the author's view, remains the proper symbol of our part in Europe's quarrel; that he, Wilson, put up a great fight because he was a pacifist at heart. And what of the peace? Just what are Mr. Palmer's regrets on that score?

> Wilson had, at the moment, the greatest pulpit in the world. His was the voice above all to which the masses of men would listen. The fear of the three elders was that he would go past them, past the plotters in Paris with their short view, to the scarred youth of the trenches in the name of the long view. The mute men at the Front were without a spokesman, while those too old to fight held the forum against them. Wilson might have been their spokesman for his and their cause. Before their mass voice the elders, who urged them on to fight, would have cowed.
>
> But the moment for this electric contact passed. The elders had the censorship, the sounding board for their own voices in Wilson's place. . . .

As an old censor, Mr. Palmer should know in part what he is talking about. On the other hand, how can he or anyone know what would have cowed the elders, or into doing what, or whether indeed there was any freedom of choice remaining to them? It would be both unfair and inadvertent to suggest that his book sheds no light on these questions; but the light it does shed is the retrospective glow of the heart's anger, falling like a star shell over a deserted battlefield.

"Much of accident goes to the making of history, even the history of thought, which might seem to be most exempt from contingencies." This sound generalization of Mr. G. M. Young's appears to have been the guiding principle by which he has expanded what was once the concluding chapter of a composite history ("Early Victorian England," reviewed in these columns August 21, 1935), and has made of it a tight-packed exposition of the British character during three generations of intense sensibility, intensive reform and relentless imperial adventure. When dealing at large with the Victorian years, so many of whose preoccupations still engross us, the commentator is steadily tempted—by way of revenge, perhaps—to read present motives into past actions whenever it suits his book. And this, the last infirmity of philosophical historians, Mr. Young has consistently avoided. The result is one of those infrequent volumes in which it is pleasant to read upward from the footnotes.

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The Man They Could Trust

Integrity: The Life of George W. Norris, by Richard L. Neuberger and Stephen B. Kahn. New York: The Vanguard Press. 415 pages. $3.

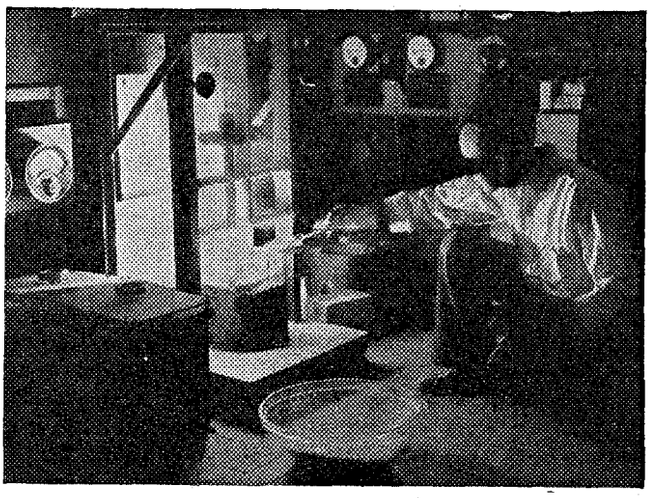
NO ONE can remain wholly dispirited about the future of popular government who reads these pages. So long as Nebraska voters have the sound sense to return George W. Norris to Washington, so long at least there is a hopeful augury. "What satire on government," Emerson asked, "can equal the severity of censure conveyed in the word *politic,* which now for ages has signified *cunning,* intimating that the State is a trick?" There is no cunning in the make-up of Senator Norris and no trickery. "The object of government," he says, "is human happiness." He is a stranger to those skulduggeries which have brought politics into disrepute.

A homespun Midwesterner, Senator Norris still mows his own lawn, chops his own kindling and is virtually a stranger to dinner clothes. His biographers describe him as "clad in the black suit and shoestring necktie of the McKinley era, but the sponsor of ideas that belonged to an era yet to come." He is no orator, but a plain-spoken, hard-hitting adversary, with a great deal of hostile shell under his hide. Merely to list his enemies is to lend him a certain distinction.

Writing out of unaffected admiration, Mr. Neuberger and Mr. Kahn are yet scrupulously honest. Nowhere are they so fulsome on their own account as are the passages they quote in a foreword from speeches by President Roosevelt. To the contrary, they let us know that the Senator has no reasoned philosophy, that he is an opportunist, that more than once he has been inconsistent, that he blundered in opposing the appointment of Mr. Justice Stone to the Supreme Court, and that sometimes his onslaughts have been unfair. He arrived in Washington as a Representative with an "implicit faith in the rectitude and wisdom of the Republican Party." The break came when he led the fight to strip Joe Cannon of his dictatorial powers as Speaker; and ever since then he has fought in a No Man's Land between the major factions, often assailed by both sides, in a sort of tragic loneliness.

While Calvin Coolidge was President a group of Washington correspondents told me that Norris was "the only man on the Hill" they could trust. They knew always, they said, where they could put their finger on him. This was an unsolicited testimonial to that integrity which his biographers have chosen wisely as their title. Years before that the Senator had filibustered against the arming of American merchant ships and had voted against our entry into the World War, to be rebuked by President Wilson and crucified by the newspapers. He has fought the power trust tooth and toenail, lambasted the meat packers and steel barons, turned his ammunition on Truman Newberry and Harry Sinclair and Andrew Mellon. He put through the Senate a bill outlawing injunctions in labor disputes. By fathering the Twentieth Amendment, he dealt a death blow to farcical lame-duck Congresses. He was the main legislative creator of the TVA and a magnificent dam is named for him.

Thanks to the Norris leadership, Nebraska is now the only state with a unicameral legislature. It is worth recalling casually that we have a two-chamber Congress because when the "Connecticut Plan," advocated by the Oliver Ellsworth faction in the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia, came up for a vote, one of the delegates was



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These examples are but a few of the contributions of research which has stimulated industry, increased employment, made available more things for more people at less cost.

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in New York fighting a duel and another was tardy. Both opposed it, and the resolution carried by a single vote. We now have a laboratory at Lincoln which may help us to determine whether we had better amend the organization of Congress. Cortez A. M. Ewing, director of the School of Public Affairs at Oklahoma University, reporting his observations of the new Nebraska assembly in the June Public Opinion Quarterly, notes the oddity that sixty seats in the rear of the chamber are assigned to lobbyists. "For sheer frankness," he says, "I wonder if it can be equaled in any state capitol in this country." (That sort of candor, I suspect, appeals to George Norris.) Mr. Ewing hopes that having legislators and pressure groups thus in the open may bring votes that represent honest opinions.

From the drudgery and privation of boyhood on a farm, through the years spent in bitter poverty working for an education, George W. Norris rose to the Nebraska Bench and thence to Congress. His life has been full of struggle, color and drama, and his biographers have missed none of it. They show how his memories of an underprivileged youth have motivated him to fight for the underdog and to lighten the burdens of rural life (as far as it is possible) with electricity. They even show how one phase of his education prejudiced him toward dealing with immediate rather than long-range problems. Considering their difficulties in dealing with the life of a contemporary, their lack of access to correspondence and memoranda that may later come to light, and the impossibility of estimating the ultimate worth of some of their subject's attitudes, they have given us a surprisingly lifelife, lovable and challenging figure. To say that they have not documented their book as thoroughly as they might would sound a note of mere condescension; the truth is that they have written a faithful and admirable biography.

SILAS BENT.

Problems of Order

Modern Building: Its Nature, Problems and Form, by Walter Curt Behrendt. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 255 pages. $3.

The New Architecture and the Bauhaus, by Walter Gropius. New York: The Museum of Modern Art. 96 pages, 16 plates. $1.75.

Modern Architecture in England, with essays by Henry-Russell Hitchcock Jr. and Catherine K. Bauer. New York: The Museum of Modern Art. 104 pages, 15 plates. $1.85.

"MODERN BUILDING" is the best book on contemporary architecture that has come to my notice. Dr. Behrendt is an architect who sees architecture as a problem of order. It is not, like the other arts, either a comment on or an interpretation of life, but a mirror of its varying manifestations. Like mathematics and philosophy it represents man's everlasting struggle to make some formal sense out of the world. This struggle has two aspects, intuitive and logical, algebraic and geometric—what Louis Sullivan called "functional" and Le Corbusier calls *"l'esprit pur."* Architecture in the last hundred and fifty years is the reflection of the modern world caught between these

> two different principles of order: one that takes the structure as an organism; growing on its own according to the proper and immutable law of its individual existence, adapted to its function and environment, as a plant or any other living organism grows, developing in its proper life space. Then, in contrast to this principle, we find another idea of order taking the structure as a mechanism, composed of various elements put into order according to the immutable law of a system *a priori.*

These ideas, fundamentally opposed and unresolved since the time of Jacob and Esau, yet always present in the dual nature of man, make up the aspect of life and so of architecture. Thus the new architecture is not just the result of a wealth of new materials calling for a new esthetic differing only in appearance from the old. The reign of formal reason that reached its apogee in the eighteenth century and the critiques of Kant has been destroyed. Processes and principles of natural law, the result of the new technology, have supplanted the logic and rules of pure form of a stable society: a new architecture, also based on process, and therefore different not only in appearance but in essence, is inevitable.

Dr. Behrendt does not think that the new architecture has "arrived," but that it is in the course of evolution and that its greatest danger is premature dogma. "Only when an idea is socially possible does it become a reality," and the ideas underlying our time are not formulated reality but only motivating forces not clearly comprehended. What is real for the architect today, if he is even to try to gratify his insistent urge for order, is that he must take part in the desperate struggle to have the social and economic scene make sense. Otherwise he is lost, and takes to eclecticism, because in the past there is a ready-made world of form which is anodyne, but also death to the creative spirit.

In developing his theme Dr. Behrendt traces the course of architectural theory from Schinkel and Morris to Frank Lloyd Wright and Le Corbusier. He shows the evolution of new forms corresponding to new concepts; the changes in technique occasioned by new materials and methods; the constant interaction between theory and practice; the curious duality of van der Velde and Le Corbusier; the difficulty of reconciling design for use with the cultural lag of vested interests demanding the monumental. His evaluations are considered and just. He is clear and non-technical —that rare technician who has so mastered his technic that he can relegate it to its proper place as a tool.

I hope that in the next edition it may be possible to add plans to the excellent illustrations. The evolution of the plan is an essential part of the new architecture: to the layman it is the hardest to understand without having examples before him.

The little book by Walter Gropius, one of the great architects of our time, is a brief account of his ideas of architecture and of the inception, growth and teachings of the Bauhaus. It makes clear that the vast success of that school was not due to any new theory of education but to the personalities and teachings of Gropius himself, and of his first faculty. The book is not so broad and comprehensive as Dr. Behrendt's—it does not claim to be—but it is important as a restatement by Gropius himself of those principles he has made so generally accepted as basic.

"Modern Architecture in England" consists largely of excellent photographs and plans, mostly of the "international style." Miss Bauer contributes a succinct review of housing. There is an essay by Dr. Hitchcock, who, like the Atlas of Rockefeller Center, seems to be slipping in the effort to support his hollow world. Dr. Behrendt speaking:

> But, being limited to the primary elements of geometry, this style of cubism must soon exhaust its formal possibilities; and so tending towards sterility, it must develop, and already has in some cases, into a new academicism which, although it suggests in its aspect a radical modernism, is not better than its conservative predecessor.

HENRY S. CHURCHILL.

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Camera in a Furrow

Hounds on the Mountain, by James Still. New York: The Viking Press. 63 pages. $2.

POETRY that springs from a direct observation of nature is not always the best kind of poetry. Mr. James Still, who is a young poet, has found his poetic background in the Cumberland region of Kentucky. He is aware of the beauty and interest of this region: the brawling mountain streams, the lonely cries of the birds, the remote coal camps, the deep brush of the woods, the pattern of piety and violence that flowers in the lives of the people. Yet the general effect of his poems, after two readings, is one of monotony. They lack variety and they lack life. Their author has carefully assimilated his detail, has studied his background, but has had little to add to it that may be called his own. Too frequently, he writes the kind of poem that depends for its total effect only on complete and exact precision of observation; he cannot strike a fire that burns on, line after line, whether the observation is precise or not. In other words, he is too much the photographic realist, plodding along where a rustic furrow leads him, rather than turning and running with the wind.

A few years ago there seemed to be promise of a deeper and richer kind of rural mid-American poetry than Still's in the works of Jesse Stuart—but Stuart has now given up verse. JOHN GOULD FLETCHER.

Girl Gets Boy Back

Emma, by Louis Paul. New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

THIS IS one man's story of what happens to the world's Noras when they leave their doll houses. Emma Dutton was very generously endowed; she had youth, good looks, intelligence, a good income and a pretty nice husband. But Emma wanted everything—even the experience of having nothing. And Mr. Paul is as generous with his heroine as nature and fate. He gives her the whole ticket. Then he turns around and uses her as a medium for the expression of his own social ideas. In her career, ranging from utter destitution, work in her own husband's textile mill, relief investigation and final dazzling success with a string of Coffee Holes, Emma furnishes plenty of opportunity for her commentator. In the textile mill, Emma works up a fine rage when one of the girls collapses and dies; when she is running her own gigantic business, she is quite ready to discard an inefficient employee whose bad luck is letting him down. With success in her lap, she wants her husband back. And, like everything else she wants, she gets him—after a little struggle, of course. People are like that, Mr. Paul lets one know; there's just no planning for them. Emma is even going to have a baby, the last and perfect item for social comment: "Bill's baby was automatic, of course. Nature would not leave such an important function to the intelligence; nature was too wise to trust great consequences to anything less than chance." It's all trite enough: "The Doll's House," "Horatio Alger" and "Boy Meets Girl," all the old formulas, but Mr. Paul has a capacity for detail that every so often lifts the combination out of the ranks of just old stuff. Emma's reflections when close to the bottom are worth reading slowly, and there is a section devoted to the mere problem of achieving a perfect coffee blend that adds up to a romance of trade. Considering his skill, I wish Mr. Paul had chosen a heroine more

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worthy of his capacity, a really hard problem, like a girl who didn't have all of Emma's endowments and who still had to face the music. What would he have chance do for her?

B. E. BETTINGER.

A Correction

The price of Pitirim Sorokin's "Social and Cultural Dynamics" (reviewed in our issue of July 14) should have been given as $6 a volume, $15 the set.

Contributors

H. N. BRAILSFORD, London correspondent for The New Republic, has written numerous books and articles dealing with history, economics and international affairs.

HAROLD J. LASKI is a member of the faculty of the London School of Economics and has written a number of volumes dealing with economics and political science. His most recent book is "The Rise of Liberalism: The Philosophy of a Business Civilization."

MARY HEATON VORSE, journalist, short-story writer and novelist, has contributed many articles on the labor movement to The New Republic. She is now at work on a book, "Labor Marches," which deals with labor's new status.

RICHARD SASULY is a Washington journalist who, until a few months ago, was in government service. During that time he was active in the AFGE.

CHARLES FLATO has been a contributor to various periodicals, has covered labor news for the daily press and until lately worked in a government bureau in Washington.

IRVING BRANT is editor of the editorial page of The St. Louis Star-Times. He is the author of "Dollars and Sense" and "Storm over the Constitution," which deals with the position of the Constitution and the Supreme Court in American life.

EDMUND WILSON'S book of three plays, "This Room and This Gin and These Sandwiches," has recently been published in the New Republic Dollar Series.

GEORGE LIBAIRE is a free-lance writer who contributes articles and reviews to various publications. He has translated the Memoirs of General de Caulaincourt, of which the second volume, "No Peace with Napoleon," was published last fall.

SILAS BENT, author of "Ballyhoo," "Strange Bedfellows" and "Machine-Made Man," is gathering material for a book about the machinery of modern living, to be published by Longmans, Green next spring.

HENRY S. CHURCHILL is a New York architect who was until recently with the Suburban Resettlement Administration. He is now in private practice in New York City.

JOHN GOULD FLETCHER is the author of several volumes of prose and poetry, including "Preludes and Symphonies," "Breakers and Granite" and "The Black Rock."

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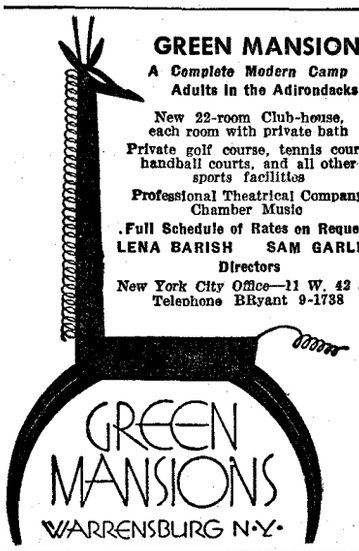

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